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WHITHERWARD?
HELL OR EUTOPIA

BY

VICTOR BRANFORD

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LONDON
WILLIAMS AND NORGATE
14 Henrietta St., Covent Garden, W.C. 2.
1921

Papers for the Present.

The following, except those marked as out of print, can be had price 1/- post free on application to the Secretary, Cities Committee, Leplay House, 65 Belgrave Road, Westminster, S.W. 1.

1. The Modern Midas.
2. The Banker's Part in Reconstruction.
3. Spirit Creative.
4. The Re-education of the Adult.
5. A Citizen Soldier: his education for Peace and War.
6. Public Health in the Industrial Age—*out of print.*
7. Business and Philanthropy: The Insurance of Wealth.

7a. Towards the Third Alternative—*out of print.*

8. A Rustic View of War and Peace.
9. The Drift to Revolution.
10. A Gardener of Paradise.
11. Sir Ronald Ross' Story.
12. The War-mind, the Business-mind and a Third Alternative.
13. Theology, Civics and Poetry.
14. A New Year's Message: Earth, Hell and the Third Alternative.

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CORRIGENDA.

p. 5, for *Stewart* read *Stuart*.

p. 48, line 8 from bottom, for *very* substitute being.

p. 61, 2nd line from top, for *rejunivenescence* read *rejuvenescence*.

p. 100, 5th line from bottom, for *sea* read *set*.

PREFACE.

ASSUREDLY the relevance of this volume to current issues should be fairly obvious. There are two aspects which the writer would especially desire to stress. One is the need to make diagnosis precede treatment in social ills no less than in bodily diseases. The other is that the suggested project of a Sabbatical Year for the Money-Power be calmly weighed and seriously considered. By most readers of a practical turn this notion will doubtless be dismissed as fantastic. But let such critics search their mind—and not less their heart—with two very definite questions. How otherwise than by exercise in a form of sacrifice fitting to the circumstances can be acquired that spirit of impassioned goodwill, clear thinking, and right action, which, always necessary to a sound view and a wise handling of public affairs, is surely more needed than ever in the present situation? How otherwise than by some gesture of renunciation appropriate to the occasion can the directive classes evoke from other classes a manifestation of public spirit adequate to present needs?

It will be asked what foundations of verifiable science support the diagnosis of social ills here made, and the suggestion of treatment put forward. By way of general answer to that question a chapter (*Every Man his own Sociologist*) has been added, which endeavours to outline those main traditions of sociological science about which there is general concurrence among students of the history of sociology. But leaving this *terra firma* of fact and appreciation for the quicksands of interpretative reference and practical guidance in respect of current issues, partisanship can hardly be avoided. It seems best, under these circumstances, to set out with complete frankness and sufficient fulness the standpoint and the aims of one's group. The group label happens in this case to be Civic Sociology. How then describe for the purpose in hand the standpoint of Civic Sociology and define its aims and mode of working?

We live at the confused juncture of an era that is passing, and one in the throes of birth. The old era is falling under a burden of historic evils aggravated by disorders peculiar to

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our Industrial Age. Our Towns and Cities have been submitted to a deterioration of environment, thoroughgoing, prolonged, pervasive. Their depressed populations are driven to seek relief and enhancement in devious courses. Inevitably there goes on all the time an encouragement of agencies which stimulate the lower manifestations of life and repress or pervert the higher. And from the repressed inner life insidious ills break loose.

In the search for a cure of communitary diseases, a notable shift of tendency may be discerned. It is a turning away from separate modes of treatment for particular ills, and a concentration on the fostering of means towards life more abundant. The newer scientific treatment of evils as defects of life, thus comes to reinforce the older claims of religion to transmute the defects into the qualities of life.

Even the religious doctrine of redemption from sin through sacrifice begins to be understood by sociologists. Towards this illumination they are driven by a more penetrating observation of the facts of life as they lie around us. On all sides, amongst the individuals of every class and community, are seen failures to develop spiritual latencies and not infrequently their perversion. It is manifestly not enough to protect the mind against the allurements of a debased environment and safeguard the soul from temptations of evil. The positive need towards life abundant is a vision quick to evoke the passion of a militant worship. But this worship fulfils its office only when the object of devotion is resonant with a supreme and creative harmony. Does the worship draw out and enlarge the spirit of personality and bring about its rapturous union with the spirit of community? That is the test question of redemption. For only when thus awakened does the spirit of man make those sacrifices of lower to higher things, which are at once purgative of evil and evocatory of the dedicated life. So does sacrifice become fulfilment, and life attains. Sacrifice does its proper work of making persons, communities and things sacred, in the measure that it liberates the energies of spiritual life to seek the heart's desire, the mind's purpose, the soul's quest. These surely are the human ends of economic activity, which, without them, is devoid of freedom; and nowhere perhaps approaches nearer to slavery than when obedient to the "laws" of economic "science" and the dictates of a merely economic interpretation of history.

It is the aim of Civic Sociology to seek out, gather together, and, as far as may be, harmonize, the resources of

science and of religion available to these ends. Yet the merest beginnings have so far been made, either by civic sociology or other means, towards an authentic body of verified knowledge and tested practice bearing on social evils as science at its clearest sees them, and religion at its purest transmutes them.

In the absence of such guidance, the tendencies of thought and action are apt to be dispersive, even when not subversive. Now, the public mind is paralyzed by the multiform strifes of sectarianism; again it is embittered by a massing into rival camps of Reaction and Revolution. Against the peril of corroding separatisms, there are to be sure, countering movements. Science is working towards synthesis of knowledge; philosophy towards unity of thought; religion towards unison of feeling; yet harmonious action is apt to wait upon the slow and fitful coming together of all these three approaches to concord.

From the deadlock of Reaction and Revolution, the way of escape is less clear but more urgent; for, in Government and Industry, action is imperative whatever the state of thought and feeling. Happily there increasingly emerges from the side of common sense a Policy of the Third Alternative. And the more the intuitive commonsense of everyday life is reinforced by the ratified commonsense of science, and inspired by the sanctified commonsense of religion, the less does this Third Alternative appear as a mere compromise between Convention and Insurgence. Rather does it come as a healing vision, at once purging from evil and kindling to joint adventure in the attainment of common aspirations.

Taken at their best the Parties of Reaction appeal to the Achievements of History, and the Parties of Insurgence to the Latencies of Life. Even so, there is apt to result a Politics biassed by an optimism of the Past, contending against a Politics of too fixed outlook upon an uncertain Future. Yet the remedy for both shortcomings is ever being more clearly discerned by those who seek to unite the tradition of science and the impulse of religion. That fixation of the backward look, and this of the forward look may be at once corrected by a careful looking around in the present. For in the life of the present (as sociology increasingly shows) may be discovered the best and the worst of the past; and likewise the actual beginnings of the future, for good and ill. Hence the Policy of the Third Alternative is both retrospective and prospective, because in a thoroughgoing way it is circumspective. In other words, it is based on a keen and critical survey

of Town and Country, the Place and the People, as they are to-day and might become to-morrow, if the conditions of fulfilment be given. Goodwill and knowledge there must be and in abundance, but alone they cannot do the work required. The needed knowledge must be assembled in orderly fashion and presented simply, vividly, clearly in relation to the local life and its requirements. A group (however small) of the regional community must be impassioned by a vision of the local people, their work and their place as they might be if the available knowledge were freely, vigorously, fully applied to the bettering of environment and the enhancement of communitary life. Here, in the dedicated militancy of two or three gathered together in the name of the ideal is the providential leaven of spiritual life. And it may perhaps be taken as an article of faith and a principle of action, as valid in religion and morals as in nature, that leaven, when its fermentation has once fairly started, may safely be left to do its regenerative work, at its own time in its own way. That maybe was the core of truth, which gave a touch of the practical-mystical (and consequent vogue) to the old-fashioned politics of *laissez-faire*.

In his interpretation of history the civic sociologist, like the plain man that he is, sticks to the facts and rates them on a commonsense valuation; but without losing sight of our dreams, visions, hopes, faiths, and loves, for in these life-impulses are the springs of a militant worship fitted for creative deed in the here and now. Thus between the recent past and the incipient future we see and interpret the Present as a Transition. The impending change thus discerned is away from a destructive age of urban, mechanical and monetary doctrines with resulting nature-exhaustion and wars: it is towards a constructive age, inspired by a doctrine more vital and also spiritual, because moving from inner to outer. The passing age has been largely under leadership of the lower sciences, mainly those of mechanics and chemistry, but also of crude biology and of racial anthropology. The coming age will be one of personal and class harmony at home, and peace abroad, to the extent that the higher sciences, psychological, social and civic, can combine towards leadership and inspiration with religion and the fine arts.

In economics the civic sociologist like the housewife stands for Economy. He demonstrates the higher economy of making and maintaining a human environment designed to evoke the finer latencies of spirit, mind and body, and planned to exercise their skilled application. These impulses were more

repressed and perverted than drawn out and cultivated by the mean towns and desolate villages of the cruder industrial age. In the utilitarian "economy" of this passing phase, incredible wastes and extravagances were masked by lavish returns in money to favoured individuals and groups. Under a more vital doctrine, wealth will be measured by attainments and by economies in life, in energies and in materials.

In fine it should be clear that in practical things the civic sociologist is intensely practical. He seeks out the vital tendencies and tries to make them parts of a truly vital organization of society. This means mitigating the strifes of individuals, groups, classes, nations, all struggling in the toils of a money and machine economy, itself subject to the machinations of a politics pretentious when not predaceous. It means cultivating regional and civic polities, infinitely diversified yet richly harmonious, because everywhere bent on quickening the local life by evocation of the powers and graces of human personality without distinction of wealth, rank, class, sex, creed or race.

Return now to the more purely scientific standpoint. It has to be remembered that a sound tradition has very deliberately raised a barrier between the indicative mood of pure science and the imperative of applied science. The Sociological Society, being an organization concerned to build up a body of pure science in its own field, remains and must remain on the indicative side of that barrier. But within the widening circle of the Society there was formed, more than a dozen years ago, a group bent on applying to current affairs such sociological data as might be available, alike for theoretical interpretation and for practical guidance. This group—the Cities Committee—during the later stages of the War launched a series of *Papers for the Present;* and these continue to be issued from time to time. They are devoted to two purposes; first to an interpretation of current events in terms of social evolution; and next to exposition and advocacy of a policy of the Third Alternative. It will be understood that the Sociological Society bears no responsibility either for the interpretations set forth, or for the practical suggestions made therein.

From the fourteen *Papers* so far issued, three of those contributed by the present writer have been selected for inclusion in the present volume. These three make a sequence in the development of a theme which claims a very direct bearing on current issues. Each *Paper* is reproduced

here as originally issued, the first (*The Drift to Revolution*) in the early spring of 1919, the second (*The War-Mind, the Business-Mind, and a Third Alternative*) in the summer of 1920, and the third (*A New Year's Message*) in January, 1921.

The first of these three *Papers* attempts to give an account, as detached and objective as maybe, of the conditions which led up to the war; and which even now after the relief of explosive activity are seen to be working again towards disastrous ends. *The War-Mind, the Business-Mind*, and *A Third Alternative* shows how the pre-war politics and economics continue their old courses, because our inner life is insufficiently awakened to vital issues. *The New Year's Message* demonstrates, in the spirit and mode of science, a way out of our present deadlock and confusion, through that gateway of sacrifice which is the traditional portal of religion. And here emerges a definitive contribution from the secular side. A scheme of renunciation is presented to the possessing classes as *their* way to a general reconciliation and a fresh communitary start.

Thus within the larger field of Civic Sociology, the three *Papers* here given present their own theme. They look back for a moment on that Victorian Society which to its contemporaries smiled with the graces of a peace deep and lasting. But on closer scrutiny of its texture that society is seen to be shot with the red and purple threads of latent war and simmering revolution. It was therefore but a natural *denouement* when through the explosive force of circumstance there burst into manifest design, the dim pattern of war unconsciously woven by the Victorians and their predecessors. But the flaming actuality of war revealed unsuspected latencies of good as well as of evil in the fashioning of the human fabric. Life-enhancements were evoked as well as life-debasements imposed and manias of ravage aroused. In short, the war initiated and kept going experiments in Redemption as well as in Reversion. It was almost as though in every village, town and city throughout the land sociological laboratories had been set up for these experimental purposes. How to read, interpret and evaluate these manifold experiments that their resultant experiences may be available in the making of a better design for the social web in the coming times? That perhaps is the supreme problem confronting the sociologist of the next half generation. Meantime many are assiduous in efforts to reweave the old pre-war pattern, while others are all for starting brand new ones. But to neglect in the

immediate present the great experiment of the war in social and economic re-orientation is surely equally foolish and wrong, whether the motive be ignorance, antipathy or caution. Anyhow, it is a main purpose of the *Papers* here brought together to draw upon that source for light in finding a way of peaceful readjustment through the darkness of the present Transition.

Throughout the full scale of science there is or should be continuity from mathematics, physics, and chemistry up to psychology, ethics and sociology. But the lower notes of the scale resound with an appeal very different in human rank from the upper notes. Prospect of money gain from inventions is no small part of the incentive that promotes the practical applications of the lower sciences to industry and commerce. But in the higher sciences (those of mind, morals and society) the advance from specialized knowledge to its practical applications, as in progress of education, or ennoblement of citizenship, the pioneer sooner or later finds himself confronted by an order of problem to him strangely unfamiliar. He is called upon to present his discovery in the form of a new and compelling vision of life. And to do this is a work of art for whose composition he is almost invariably unequipped. Happy the man of science who in this difficulty can call in aid a poet ready with the relevant imagery! The present writer is doubly fortunate. The presentation of his theme made in the cold manner of science is kindled at its close by a touch of fire, he has ventured to steal from the poems of Mr. G. K. Chesterton. A more daring plunder from the splendours of imagery which glow and flash from the impassioned pages of Mrs. Rachel Annand Taylor, opens this volume with a prelude of song that stirs to vision of cities renewed and art reborn to gladden the joyless folk.

The reader, touched by the *Appeal* of Mrs. Taylor, may find it a saddening descent to be asked in immediate sequel to grapple with the prosaic ethic of "*What to do*" in the here and now of everyday life and circumstance. But in calling for action, ere the fount of emotion aroused by the poet has run dry, the man of science is surely seizing his best, perhaps his only, chance of executive direction. And since ideas of class dictature are in fashion, the remark may be permitted, that Government by the small and modest groups who cultivate the psychological and social sciences on a little oatmeal, might possibly follow, it could not conceivably precede the enthronement of poet, singer, musician, novelist, artist,

sculptor, architect! Anyhow, it is in expectation of a momentary response to sociological counsel that a whole catalogue of imperatives is thrust upon the reader in the wake of Mrs. Taylor's poem. The subsequent diagnosis of ills and suggestions for treatment which make up the body of this book, do not profess to cover but in merest outline, the whole ground of ethic traversed in the scheme of *What to Do*. For further development there are other *Papers* than those here given. In particular the three more economic and financial *Papers* (No. I. *The Modern Midas;* No. II. *The Bankers' Part in Reconstruction;* and No. VII. *Business and Philanthropy, and the Insurance of Wealth*) should be consulted for the basis of action recommended in regard to money matters. And again, for fuller exposition of this same line of thought and conduct, reference may be made to the several volumes of the *Making of the Future* series of books (Williams and Norgate). Therein will be found a sustained endeavour to direct upon the making of the future the light of science focussed through the lens of religion.

LEPLAY HOUSE,
65, BELGRAVE ROAD,
WESTMINSTER, 1921.

THE APPEAL TO THE ARTIST.*

By Mrs. Rachel Annand Taylor

O ye that walk in secret places
Adoring Beauty, Who is God,
Turn, turn your pale enchanted faces,
Uplift the burning incense-rod.
Down in the darkness of the Valley
The pack is out of pains and sins :
Harken the furious hallali,
For now the Hunt of Death begins!
O ye that up in sun-veiled spaces
The Wounds of Ecstasy endure
With Muses, Loves and heavenly Graces
Come down and pass among the Poor.
These are your kindred, and these only.
Before the blue-winged Mercy-Seat
They bring as ye bring (and these only)
The pierced hands, the pierced feet.

II.

All the long day upon the Wheel of Labour
Their bones are ground,
That with the flute, the timbrel and the tabor
Your dreams may sound.
Their limbs the clinging curse of Adam harries
That yours be free :
Bright souls, regard their souls the death-sleep marries.
Yea, verily,
Upon the Body's sullen rood the Spirit
Drinks Myrrh and dies.
These cannot see the Earth that they inherit
With such tired eyes.
A little bread to eat, a little raiment,
A hiding-place,—
This the World's ransom, this the princely payment!
O grey disgrace,
Of days all emptied of the masques and roses!
A dream of fire
They buy, the dream that suddenly discloses
Gates of desire.
The dream that brings the soul, a Power, a Splendour,
To some great feast
One moment ere she make the black surrender,
Wake like a beast.—

* By kind permission of Mrs. Taylor and her publisher, Mr. Elkin Mathews, this poem is here reprinted from the book *Rose and Vine* (1910).

Ah! lead them in some simple sweet translation
Out of this Night.
For Life begins with beauty, adoration,
Wonder, delight.

III.

To the help of the Other Toilers, the drugged and the broken of heart,
Come, O ye kindred in love, ye beautiful Children of Art.
Mitred and girdled with rubies like dreaming Chaldean Kings,
Bearing delectable spoil of exquisite useless things—
Even as the Magians brought to the Stable of Bethlehem,
The rosy and emerald crowns, fair palace-flowers for them,
Their delicate wasteful odours cloistered in ivory,
Bring ye again your rarest to our Lady of Poverty.
Mitred and girdled with rubies like solemn Chaldean Kings,
Bring music and verses and spices, and carven and painted things.

IV.

Cities like sunsets and sunrises
Poets must build you burningly.
O river-broidered Paradises,
Great lovers must your freemen be!
Sing gardens, delicately, slowly,
Stepping to find the lilied lakes,
Sing iris, amaranth and moly
Hid where the nightingale awakes.
Sing the vast squares, tall-towered arcaded,
Where the rejoicing fountains glow;
Sing colours, sculptures, pomps unfaded
Where Life and Death augustly go,
Where through rich ways like wrought romances
Wreathed Hymen with antiphonies
High Hera, Hermes, lord of trances,
Lead to their diverse ecstasies
Faint lovely souls. Sing gracious Mummers
For rainbow Masques and Miracles
Of Springs and Autumns and Midsummers,
Thrilled through with viols, flutes and bells,—
The Passion-play year long prevailing
That hails the Easter, mourns the Dead,
The great High Mass that lifts unfailing
The sad mysterious Wine and Bread.

V.

Cast not, like alms, of Beauty's worst
Before the joyless folk.
Do as the saintly rider durst
Who cleft his knightly cloak
All glorious. Gemmy flowers and gold
Wrapt his bedes brother from the cold.

O Dreamers, breathe upon their eyes
That they may see again,
And breathe as Love in loving sighs
Lest all the prayers be vain.
Though time and faith be faded, still
Love works his own miraculous will.

Pity, forgive, if ye will save:
Forgive and pity long.
Souls born and bred within the Cave
Must do the sun god wrong,
Dreading his chariots, fain to flee
The pangs of his bright archery.

The lucid wells they shall defile
(But keep the fountains pure);
And rend the vines and roses while
Ye labour.—Yet endure,
And plant again the fragrant closes:
Their children's children shall love roses.

In gilded graven mazers bring
The crystal pool of Joy;
And if they spill the splendid spring,
The cunning cups destroy,
In great peach-blossom bowls once more
Bring rapture to the Darksome Door.

VI.

Go up to the Hills of God
Go up, go up together
Through the new Golden Weather,
Toiler that bearest the hod,
Toiler that bearest spices
In ivory slumbering
Like a dreamy Magian King.
Go up with your sacrifices.
Fair in the eyes of God
Rich thurible, patient hod.
Peace to you, brother and brother,
Ye have need of one another.

WHAT TO DO.

HAVE faith in moral Renewal, next in Re-education, and therewith Reconstruction. For fulfilment there must be a Resorption of Government into the body of the community. How? By cultivating the habit of directly constructive action instead of merely waiting upon representative agencies. Hence these social imperatives:

ECONOMICS (Agriculture, Industry, etc.).

1.—*Cease to feel Labour personally as a "burden," or see it socially as a "problem"; practise it as a primary function of life.*

2.—*Raise the life-standard of the people, and the thought-standard of schools and universities: so may the workman and his family receive due meed of* real *wages; the leisure of all become dignified; and for our money-economy be substituted a life-economy.*

POLITICS (Resorption of Government).

3.—*Eschew the despotic habit of regimentation, whether by Governments, Trusts, Companies, tyrants, pedants or police; try the better and older way of co-ordination expanding from local centres through city, region, nation, and beyond; so may the spirit of fellowship express itself, instead of being sterilized by fear, crushed by administrative machinery, or perverted by repression.*

4.—*Resist the political temptation to centralize all things in one metropolitan city; seek to renew the ancient tradition of Federation between free cities, regions, dominions.*

5.—*Encourage the linkages of labour, and of studious and professional associations across international frontiers; it is these that can quicken the unity of western civilization and bring forth its fruits of concord. Further, let our imperial bureaucrats abate their superior habit of instructing the orientals and try to learn from them.*

CIVICS (Regions and Cities, their Survey and Service).

6.—*Let cities, towns, villages, groups, associations, work out their own regional salvation; for that they must have freedom, ideas, vision to plan, and means to carry out, (a) betterments of environment (such as housing fit for family life, and land for a renewed peasantry), (b) enlargements of mental horizon (such as forelooking universities, colleges and schools quick with local life and interests), (c) communitary festivals and other enrichments of life. All these must become parts of one ever-growing design for the coming years to realize.*

7.—*Stimulate sympathetic understanding between all sections of the community by co-operation in local initiative: so may European statesmen be no longer driven to avoid revolution by making war.*

FINANCE (Money Interests towards Social Uses).

8.—*Make free use of the public credit for sound social investments. Let this credit be issued against these new social assets; charge it with an insurance rate and a redemption rate; and pay the bankers a moderate commission to administer it through their system of interlocking banks and clearing-houses. The present unacknowledged use of the public credit by bankers must be recognized and regulated; and this, being for private profit, must yield precedence to communitary uses.*

9.—*Fill the public purse from a steeply gradated income-tax (proceeds being shared by the local with the central authority); discriminate in favour of investments that improve the environment and develop the individual. Let tax-gatherers take heavy toll of "unearned increments," such as the "bonus" to shareholders, the appreciation of speculative securities, the rise in land values from growth of population. Cease to exploit new resources and advances predominantly for private gain, and use them increasingly in service of region and city.*

EDUCATION, SCIENCE, ART.

10.—*In general, aim at making individuals more socialized and communities more individualized. To that end, let schools subordinate books to out-door observation and handicrafts; let teachers draw the matter and the method of education from the life and tradition of their pupils' own region, as well as from the history and culture of mankind at large. Let universities seek first for synthesis in the civic life around them; and only thereafter in the pages of philosophy. Above all let governing bodies learn, if not from the Churches, at least from the psychological and social sciences, the distinction between temporal and spiritual powers, and cease to play the double rôle of Pope and Cæsar. As for the chemical and mechanical sciences let them repent of making hell-upon-earth under war-lord and money-lord, and take service in the kingdom of heaven on earth. Then may the machine industry learn from artist-craftsman and town-planner the social significance of Design in all human things, including the city itself: that way lies the guild ideal, and its hope of expressing the civic spirit. Let civic statesmen, culturally as well as materially, link up the village with the city, and the city with the country: that way lies the regional ideal; and some day men will enter through this portal into paradise regained.*

Along all these lines there is movement; but lacking in volume and unity. A crusade of constructive action has long been afoot; but with many halts, and in sparse and isolated companies. The Spirit Creative is liberated and in flight; but too timidly, and on dissevered quests. It is time for clearer understanding, closer co-operation, deeper unison, between all men and women of goodwill and high endeavour. So may be prepared definitely planned campaigns for the making and maintenance of worthy homes, smiling villages, noble cities. To engage the militant energies of the race in these adventures of constructive peace, and heroically to salve the perennial wreckages of humanity, would be the moral equivalent of war. Along this road lies the way towards Eutopia.

The Drift to Revolution

Being No. 9 of Papers for the Present

FOREWORD.

An explanatory word as to the aims and method of this *Paper*, and of the series to which it belongs. A question is sometimes heard "what is the modern point of view?" And on the heels of that query may come another, "What is its civilization value?" The professed philosopher answers by a cheque on the Bank of Abstractions, which more often than not, holds insufficient assets to meet it. The plain man answers more concretely; but gives one answer to-day, another to-morrow, and a third the next. In the end his mind is thrown into confusion by the diversity of replies. Happily there are ways of answering which avoid the pitfalls of the professed philosopher and also of the plain man. One such way it is claimed is exhibited throughout this *Paper*; intimately concerned with the two questions above, since its main theme is an analysis of the current political situation. But this is not treated in isolation. On the contrary, the political issue is handled as something unintelligible except in relation, on one side to industry, trade and finance, and on the other to education, science, art and even religion.

As to the whole series of *Papers*, they may be described as studies in contemporary social evolution. Their aim is to be both graphic and interpretative. The numbers in brackets throughout the text refer to illustrative lantern slides, detailed in an appendix to the *Paper*. The purpose of these slides is to present by visual imagery of significant buildings, persons, situations, the social process which is described and interpreted in the text. The slides are offered on loan to societies, clubs, circles concerned to study current events in the light of such sociological principles as can be brought to bear. As to the standpoint adopted in the *Papers*, it will of course be understood that every effort is made to maintain the objectivity and detachment of science; but it should be explicitly stated that responsibility alike for facts and principles rests solely on the Cities Committee and not on the Sociological Society.

The method recommended for use of the slides is to pass them over the screen with as brief intervals as may be needed for the reading of a minimum of explanatory text. For that purpose a shortened version in typescript of the relevant *Paper* is available for loan with the slides. The discussion, it is suggested, should take place at a subsequent meeting: and in preparation for this members of the circle can study the full printed text of the *Paper* at leisure. Some insistance is placed on the value of an antecedent display of the slides. Since these aim at selecting, portraying and re-combining significant things and events, with something of the continuity and vividness of drama, it is hoped their prior presentation may impart to the discussion a certain quality of mind. The mode manifestly desirable is that combination of concreteness and generality which differentiates scientific treatment from, on the one hand, the vagaries of popular debate, and, on the other, the dialectical abstractions and archaic presuppositions common in more "philosophical" circles.

The Spirit of the Industrial Era.

Each age has its everyday working philosophy by which it lives, and as things usually turn out, by which it dies. The "practical man" of the departed Victorian peace had such a philosophy in Utilitarianism. It was first formulated by Jeremy Bentham. Him

we may depict and explain on the principle of opposites by setting his portrait face to face with Robert Burns (1). The latter was a practical man in the sense that he was accustomed to plough and sow, reap and thresh. But it was integral to Burns' philosophy that poetry was the stuff of life; while, in the avowed opinion of Bentham, poetry was just a clumsy form of prose. The utilitarian philosophy was popularised by innumerable advocates and exponents of whom the most famous was perhaps Mr. Samuel Smiles, who preached to a generation ready to give hearty and unqualified assent to the doctrine that God helps those who help themselves. (2). A rotund and polished form of utilitarianism was elaborated by Herbert Spencer, who, being an engineer, naturally conceived the useful in terms of the fit, and, being unoccupied, reflected on the survival of the fittest. (3). The many volumes of his Philosophy collected and pieced together a thousand fragments of thought secreted by a mechanical age in odd moments spared from the practical business of money-making. The Spencerian version of utilitarianism was therefore called a synthetic philosophy; as though postage-stamp collecting were termed a synthetic art. The misfortune was that its author and his generation mistook it for a theory of life and a doctrine of evolution.

Though the age that produced it has died, the utilitarian philosophy survives, as do all past systems of thought in the folklore of the popular press, as well as in the classrooms of university professors. The person who says "no theories for me, I'm a practical man," is talking utilitarian philosophy, though doubtless he is no more aware of what he is doing than was M. Jourdain. This particular flower of utilitarianism is to be sure a hardy perennial. The individual who openly scorns the theoretical on the ground that it is certainly useless and probably mischievous is no *rara avis*. Snapshot the first man of business you meet and the chances are you have photographed a utilitarian philosopher. Again, by way of contrast, you might put this picture of the "practical man" of to-day side by side with that of a citizen of ancient Athens, for whom theory meant the utmost clarity of vision (3[a]).

The juristic reflections of Jeremy Bentham, the moralizing maxims of Samuel Smiles, the recondite speculations of Herbert Spencer all went to the shaping of utilitarianism into a Spiritual Power for the Industrial Era. But beyond these instruments of thought and emotion, another discipline of the mind contributed to that end even more. It was above all Political Economy that gave utilitarianism its establishment in the universities, and put an edge on it for the use of politicians, journalists and others concerned in the formation and guidance of public opinion. These, it was supposed, spoke with the authority of "science" when they invoked the "Laws" of Political Economy.

For some century and a half, the political economists have been having their say in the name of science. From Adam Smith through David Ricardo to John Stewart Mill and Henry Fawcett there is an imposing procession of "classical" economists. Of their critics there is an array hardly less impressive than that of the economists. The redoubtable figure of Karl Marx is central to a host of predecessors and continuators. From all this galaxy of "scientific" investigators, the economists and their critics together, one may surely gain a clear undestanding and true interpretation of our age. And not a little light should thereby be shed on the course which our contemporary civilisation must steer in order to escape the shipwreck that threatens it, as some fear.

AN ANCIENT THEORIST AND A MODERN UTILITARIAN (After Ruskin) (3a).

Now an investigator usually says truly what he sees clearly. And what, from the nature of things, he sees most clearly is the character of the milieu in which he lives vividly and himself plays a part, and on which he reflects dispassionately. So let us enquire what it was that the representative economists and their critics saw, each in his own generation. (4).

The Romance of Machine Production.

To begin with there is that other Adam, the Eveless man of Kirkcaldy, yet father of this new "science," and so progenitor of a hardy race of philosophers who conquered the world of thought with amazing rapidity. First remark about Adam Smith, that he was a patron of James Watt, the modern Prometheus, who brought down fire from Heaven and harnessed it to the chariots of men. (5). No statue is more entitled to its place in Westminster Abbey than Watt's. By helping him to start in that business which

resulted in the making good of the steam engine, Adam Smith became one of the temporal founders of our industrial system; and so supplemented in a unique way that share in the spiritual parentage of our age which is his by authorship of the "Wealth of Nations." Further he was contemporary with Arkwright and Hargreaves. The organising genius of the former and the mechanical genius of the latter made these two the essential founders of the Factory System (5 a). And the Factory system only awaited the steam engine of Watt to become the master force destined to re-shape the face of the world and re-orient the course of history. (6). A new age of romance had dawned. And like all true romance it arose from humble beginnings. (7). In this case from the cotton spinner. (8) The spinning of fibre for cloth had from the earliest civilisation to the 18th century, been by the same simple contrivances to which the human hand, supplying a feeble and uncompounded driving power, spun a single thread. (9). Then, like a bolt from the blue, came a series of inventions of which Hargreaves' spinning jenny was the type. A child, by turning a handle could spin sixteen threads at once, and so do with ease the work of sixteen adults. (10). But soon, by further improvements, one person could spin a thousand threads. (11). Arkwright was the man, urged by dreams of wealth, to fullest exploitation of this new power. His part was to add machine to machine, operative to operative, building to building, all to make one immense thing whose articulations worked like a single machine of incredible productivity. (12). This thing was the Factory. And proud was the nation to see these gigantic genii of power arising on all sides. Through their unleashed energy a man could produce more yarn in a day than previously in a year. A historian of the early nineteenth century claimed that it was not so much the genius of Nelson and Wellington that had won the war against France, but rather the 150,000 "Hands" in the spinning mills of Lancashire, producing goods which would have required 40,000,000 men working with the old one-thread wheel. And indeed, it could credibly be maintained that in the prolonged strife of the Napoleonic wars, the national Argosy of Britain finally floated to victory on the mighty stream of exports that issued from the textile mills of Lancashire.

There assuredly is an unsung epic. But it is a saga not without monuments. The Factory is the most frequent, but not the only one. Beside the Factory there arose, in course of time, another architectural type. An early specimen of the latter was the Manchester Cotton Exchange. (13). Its designers gave to this building certain structural proportions, a shapeliness, a touch of stylistic adornment, all of which were denied to the Factory. Some sense of symbolic fitness, some divining perhaps of future

venerability, inspired the erection (to be sure on a modest scale) of a temple-like structure for this Cotton Exchange. Indeed, is it not to be regarded, in sympathetic retrospect, as a hallowed progenitor of those Financiering Institutions into which the Industrial Era and its Utilitarian Philosophy finally flowered with lavish exuberance in the generation immediately preceding the war? As the manufacture of goods by machinery dominated the first phase of our Industrial Era, so its final phase was marked by an absorbing quest of new markets and an impassioned effort of financiers to "control" existing ones. Thus we note the shifting of emphasis, first from making to selling, and then from trade to finance. Beginning with a glorification of the Factory and the Warehouse, that era closed in a cult of the Exchange and the Bank. This century-long evolution from goods economy to money economy, from fierce rivalry of individuals to fiercer emulation of groups, from business competition to financial monopoly, was, we may say, implicit in the building of that first Cotton Exchange. Pæans of Progress, accompanied by ecstasies of statistics expressed the pride with which each succeeding generation contemplated the earlier phases of this development. Gladstone's phrase, "progress by leaps and bounds," won instant popularity and maintained it, because perfectly adapted to the general mood. There was generated a volume of emotion sufficient to furnish the substance of a veritable religion. And assuredly its multitudinous adherents in press and Parliament, on popular platform and academic rostrum, found a living faith in the doctrine which the Germans call *Manchesterismus*. That old Cotton Exchange is venerable as the primitive temple of this still living faith.

Adam Smith was the observant philosopher who lived during the early stage of this re-birth of romance through manufactures and commerce. He analysed this new "wealth of nations," and drew certain deductions. The grand conclusion he came to was that the pathway of the growing giant should be cleared of every impeding obstacle. The kind of hampering restriction which survived from past social dispensations he had himself experienced in the case of Watt, whose Guild tried to stop the business on which Adam Smith and his friends in Glasgow launched the young mechanic. Political Economy generalised this experience of its founder. Freedom for the manufacturer, freedom for the merchant, freedom for the worker. That was its triple imperative. *Laissez-faire* was the corresponding ideal of national policy. The political idealists of this dispensation were the founders of the Liberal Party. But that is to anticipate.

To return to the economic situation. At first the working

classes shared in the prosperity of the machine era. Where previously the breadwinner of a family brought home ten shillings a week, now in the textile areas the whole domestic circle from young child to aged grandfather became wage-earners, and the family budget might mount to 100 shillings a week or even more. Money circulated freely. Rents rose many times, and the landlords enjoyed in times of peace a prosperity otherwise associated by them with a "good war." As for the operatives, a contemporary observer quaintly remarked, "there are thousands of spinners who eat meat every day, wear broadcloth on the Sunday, and dress their wives and children well, furnish their houses with mahogany and carpets, subscribe to publications, and pass through life with much of humble respectability."

The coarse cottons and shirtings of the earlier factories were soon supplemented by cambrics, muslins, and silk-like stuffs that rivalled in texture the finest fabrics of oriental looms. (14—14[a]). Choice garments previously the privilege of grand ladies and rich merchants' wives were now at the disposal of servant girls, with corresponding enhancement of life and intenser sense of wellbeing. No wonder poets sang the praises of the new "nymph Gossypia"—a phrase invented by Erasmus Darwin in a paper commemorating Arkwright's first water mill in Derbyshire. Orators became eloquent on the dawning of the millenium.

At first the universities held aloof, it is true. But they made amends by giving sanctuary to orthodox Political Economy when, some half a century later, its hold was being weakened by the assaults of heterodox votaries.

Enter, the Liberals and Radicals.

Broadly speaking, all classes joined in bringing to birth the political ideals of the Liberalizing Faith and in accepting its doctrine. A great scheme of Liberation from the fetters of the past was called for. Adam Smith's book voiced this demand, and the science of Political Economy expounded its theory. Statesmen gave themselves to its study, and were proud to be called disciples of the author of the "Wealth of Nations." Pitt, the young Prime Minister, a student of the new revelation, became the political hope of the nation. (15). In a famous picture he was idealized by Blake as the tamer and pilot of Behemoth. At a dinner party Pitt refused to be seated before Adam Smith, remarking with obeisance to the philosopher, "We are all your followers."

A thoroughgoing adaptation of Parliament to liberationist legislation was well begun before the outbreak of the French Revolution. That untoward event did for a moment stimulate the Liberal movement, but soon checked, then reversed it. After the Reaction there was to be sure a return movement of Liberal idealism

which looked to Parliament as a fount of legislative justice. And once in each succeeding generation this returning wave has risen to a crest marked by a Reform Act endowing some new section of the nation with the franchise. The latest of these Acts (1918) has, it is true, coincided with a deep depression of the Liberal Party. But that only proves to what extent their antagonists have absorbed the parliamentary doctrine of Liberalism. There is no need therefore to despair of the Liberal faith.

Across the millenial dream which ushered the dawn of the Industrial Age darkening shadows were thus cast by the social reactions of the French Revolution and their sequel in the Napoleonic wars as well as by other unforeseen events. Yet great fortunes continued to be made by manufacturers and merchants. (16). From these newly-enriched classes had risen political families like the Pitts, and later on came the Peels and the Gladstones. The territorial aristocracy was swelled by an incredible number of recruits. You may reckon a full ten thousand in the list of "county families" enumerated in the "Road Books," those Bradshaws and A. B. C. Guides of the spacious coaching days. But unprecedented poverty, hardship and degradation became the lot of the working classes. And it seemed, as a radical critic remarked, Adam Smith's book of revelation should have been called "The Poverty of Nations and the Wealth of Individuals." Yet the working classes clung pathetically to the ideals of the liberationist era. Liberty, however, was now demanded by them for a different purpose. What they wanted was freedom to combine for higher wages. For that purpose they needed and demanded the use of the Strike. (16[a]). The theory and practice of the Strike in relation to money wages absorbed the intellectual energies of Labour Leaders. Both the Strike and the wages it acquired or failed to acquire were regarded in what might be called the Parliamentary sense, so deeply had this habit of mind taken root, even in the working classes. The Trade Unionists as they won their "Rights" increasingly used them according to the Parliamentary method. An assembly of delegates elected on the Representative Principle and with a working procedure of Resolutions, Votes, and the eloquence of advocacy, the Trade Union became a Parliament in little. It was linked with the Great Parliament by the doctrine of Radicalism. Thus the Rights of the People countered the Rights of the manufacturing and middle classes. The political warfare between Liberalism and Radicalism exhibited the intensity of strife between sects of the same general doctrine. This inter-group struggle of Liberals and Radicals was, of course, frequently suspended for combination against parties and interests that stood in the way of both. It was, for instance, their joint effort that won the Free Trade victory under Cobden and Bright. (16[b]).

That culminating triumph of economic freedom was doubtless aided not a little by the simultaneous coming of the Railway Age, for this was a veritable re-birth of the mechanical idealism of the 18th century. (17). Hence a double commemoration found expression in architecture and town-planning. In the temple-like Palace of Crystal, which housed the Great Exhibition of 1851, pride in goods of mechanical production not only expressed itself, but stimulated that vogue of plate-glass for shopfronts which soon became a dominant feature of urban architecture throughout western civilisation. It has even been asserted with some appearance of truth, that the two most representative products of our later industrial age have been plate-glass and soot; the one element of progress being clearly relative to the other. But putting oneself back in imagination with the idealists of the early railway age, one recognises the renewed enthusiasm of power and re-awakening to dramatic issues. These impulses signalised themselves in the cyclopean buildings of terminal stations, enhanced it might be by monumental gateways like that at Euston. (18). Frith's painting of the Great Western Terminus at Paddington has become a historic picture which we regard with languid cynicism or even with disgust as the predecessor of our abominable "Smoke Halls." (18a) But in the mind of its contemporaries Frith's painting excited a storm of interest and a passion of admiration.

Thus to the first Industrial Revolution succeeded a second hardly less fervid and far-reaching, for the reaction of the railway on civilisation has been comparable in its magnitude to that of the Factory. But this one has been observed and interpreted, not so much by the utilitarian as by other types of philosopher, of whom Mr. H. G. Wells is a notable example.

The Moneyspinners and their Deity.

Amongst the private fortunes made out of the public misfortunes of the Napoleonic wars, was that of an amiable London stockbroker, one David Ricardo, son of a Dutch Jew. (19). In the economic record he comes next in apostolic succession to Adam Smith. Slight as are his writings, modest his thought, narrow the range of his knowledge, yet it is probable that Ricardo contributed more than any other single individual to the final shaping of utilitarianism into a Spiritual Power for the Industrial Era. To understand so unusual a conjuncture two things must be borne in mind. One is that in the evolution of the industrial era there was, as we have said, a progressive shifting of emphasis from manufacture to trading and from trading to finance. The other is as to the peculiar nature of the stockbroker's part in the community. The first of these considerations if not self-evident, rests upon

testimony of which some part is embodied in the substance of this Paper. As to the second consideration, a little reflection on the well-known activities of the stockbroker will suffice. Dealing in the most abstract items of the economic process, he soon learns to contemplate money with a certain detachment and intensity of thought. The nature of money, the ways of money, the forms of money, are what engross his mind all the time. And since his is a business of the most rudimentary organisation, and practically without physical exertion, his occupation comes to be, in effect, that of the contemplative life. In other words, the city offices of stockbrokers are a veritable nest of hermits' cells. (20). Given a man of the generalizing habit of mind, and with the inspiration of appropriate contacts, it is clear that from one of these cells of the moneyspinners will issue a philosophy of money. David Ricardo was that philosopher. During an enforced holiday at Bath the young man chanced to come upon the "Wealth of Nations." This book seized on his imagination like an apocalyse. Its problems became a main interest of his life. His own contribution to the new "science" was naturally in terms of his personal milieu and occupation. He switched the line of discussion from the manufactures and commerce of Adam Smith into an abstract field of Capital and Labour. With fine finish he carved and set up in the market place a grand and imposing idol named CAPITAL, avid of costly ritual and entitled to copious first fruits and rich sacrifices, in return for inestimable benefactions in the founding of industries and the promoting of Wealth. In its open palm he put a form named LABOUR, an insignificant wooden figure, roughly chiselled, a mere symbol of service ancillary to Capital, and therefore needing nothing more than an occasional coat of paint and other trifling attention embraced in "costs of maintenance." The market place where Ricardo imaged the rise of his statuary should rather be called a Forum, so spacious is the place; so replete with monumental buildings. One of them is an immense grey temple of classical model. (20[a]). It was built by Soane, a notable architect, contemporary of Ricardo, for the Bank of England. But clearly the design of Sir John Soane is incomplete without the Ricardian conception of a colossal Jupiter Capitalinus, seated on a throne of bullion, supporting in his right hand, not a winged Victory, but a lame Vulcan, in his left a sceptre topped by the golden calf, and on his brow a wreath of laurel, the homage of "city" editors and literary bankers. [1]

1. The picture of Jupiter Capitalinus and his Temple in the Forum which should here reinforce the argument cannot be given; and for a reason which is perhaps more of the nature of symptom than accident. The artist engaged on this series of cartoons was before their conclusion subjected to a form of taboo which temporarily debars his pencil from social criticism. This inhibition, needless to say, was not the ostensible ground of the taboo. This process of elimination works otherwise.

The Ricardian economics, if it was not in form a doctrine of money, yet soon became one in practical use and popular exposition. It therefore ignored the Labourer when it did not openly belittle him. It rapidly won adherents in the higher circles of the political, social and industrial world. It appealed to the manufacturer because for him, Capital was his plant, buildings and stock. And this capital enabled him to draw Profits from the bountiful cornucopia of nature. It appealed to the owners of bonds, mortgages, stocks and shares, because for them Capital was invested money, which, on Ricardo's theory, stood to earn, in addition to the customary "interest" an unlimited increment in the expanding progress of industry. It even appealed to landlords, because, at a time when the bowels of the earth were being ransacked for coal and metals, every estate owner lived in the expectation of finding himself the possessor of underground Capital. Thus the landlords were doubly indebted to Ricardo; for his glorification of capital as well as for his famous theory of rent. Under such social patronage political economy continued its triumphant march in the world of the well-to-do classes, and in its mellowing phase, as we have seen, penetrated the universities and was there endowed in perpetuity. From academic chairs the facts and outlook of Adam Smith were interpreted by the doctrine of Ricardo, and developed by successive commentators, continuators and renovators into a system of instruction for budding leaders in politics, industry, law and journalism.

The Prophet of Socialism.

It is time to turn to the critics of political economy. By way of contrasting this heterodoxy with that orthodoxy, let us recall two divergent Jewish traditions. (21). One is of Him who expelled the money changers from the Temple, the other is of the money changers. The Ricardian economics emanated, as we saw, from the Stock Exchange and the Bank. (22). Of those august institutions it cannot, of course, be said that they are money changers' stalls in the Temple. But can it be denied that for the six working days of the week in "the city" as recent times have known it, this Bank and its Stock Exchange *are* the Temple? (23).

A generation or so after Ricardo there appeared in London another Jew, and not of the financial tradition, but rather of that other one. (24). In all respects, except a studious interest in the "science" of Political Economy the careers of Karl Marx and David Ricardo are sharply opposed. Marx encamped, not in the city of golden dreams, but in a mean street of Soho, that miniature east end, encircled in the west end. Marx made no fortune, and founded no territorial family, but saw his children die of want in a penurious garret. True, the gratitude of a later generation of adherents has expressed itself in a magnificent gesture; for it was

announced from Petrograd early in the Bolshevik *régime* that by way of homage to its German prophet, the Soviet Government had voted a round million roubles for a statue to Marx and an endowment for his descendants.

Let us pause to examine what it was that Marx saw as he walked the streets of London, struggling bread-winner of an impoverished family; student of life, interpreter of labour. From what observed data, for instance, did he derive those two concepts the Class War and the Proletarian Dictature, whose glow has lighted the path of his disciples and turned them into bands of crusaders, now swollen to multitudes, even to whole populations? (25). In the eastend he watched the stream of immigrants flowing into the metropolitan vortex, not only aliens from the continent, but labourers and their families from the shires of the Home Counties and beyond. Occupation of a sort awaited each family; the sweating dens for men and women, and for the children the career of street *gamin*, or Thames-side mud-lark. But the pleasures and the gaieties of life are by no means absent from the east end. (26). In the Saturnalia of the young men the Dionysiac spirit awakes to the call of the concertina. A never-failing break in the diurnal monotony is supplied by the perennial drama of the police court and the resulting demonology of the evening newspaper. The women and children have their great summer festival and rural exodus for hop-picking. Every Sunday forenoon is a Jews market which has grown to be a veritable fair on a vast scale, filling whole streets with wares of oriental splendour. But these vicarious delights perchance weary the adult males of the Christian community, so for them the tedium of Sabbath morn is relieved by an expectant sojourn outside the public-house, pending its statutory hour of opening. Finally, when everything else palls, there is that last resource against boredom, the mild excitement of a flitting. Such are the leisure equivalents of the breadwinning occupations which their sordid milieu forces on the Eastenders.

From the factories, workshops, warehouses and docks of the Eastend flows all day a stream of loaded lorries, vans, carts. (27). This stream passes through "the city" to its predestined purpose in the Westend. Here, then, in the vivid concrete, was daily presented to the inquisitive eyes of Karl Marx a sample of the economists' "Production," "Distribution," "Consumption." The part of the east end and of the west end in the process is manifest. The artisans, labourers, sailors, dockers, watermen, carters, vanmen of the east produce or distribute the goods; the ladies and gentlemen of the west, with their associated and dependent train consume the goods. Where then, and what is the part of "Capital" for which "the city" stands? At first sight it looks as if "the city's" part were a mystical one, extracting, by some invisible hand, toll and

tribute as the goods pass in their transit from east to west. But on closer inspection the manner of the operation is discoverable and the service rendered by capital is disclosed.

When your tailor sends you a new suit of clothes it is accompanied or followed by a bill. In the language of the accountant (which is a useful aid to thinking, because it is in general terms), the tailor's bill is a debit note. You send back to the tailor your cheque which similarly is a credit note. The debit and credit notes thus exchanged are private documents. They are the concern of you and your tailor alone. But in the course of twenty-four hours or so your cheque passes through one of the bankers' Clearing Houses and thereupon its amount is duly credited to the tailor in the ledger of *his* bankers. (28).

Now it is of the first importance to understand what this "clearing" of cheques means. It means, in effect, that there have been transferred from one person to another a certain call on the output of the community at large. Reflect for a moment on what it means to have a credit balance at your bank. That balance is a sum which at pleasure you can draw out in legal tender currency. And legal tender currency is nothing but credit tokens to which custom backed by law, gives the standing of public credit, *i.e.*, a call on the output of the community. Now what is the banker's part in this traffic? It is manifold. But there is one element in it of central significance. (29) The banker makes it his business to buy certain kinds of private debit notes and sell tokens which are public credit notes, called for short money. It is this which Marx saw. He saw the banker as a particular kind of merchant and consequently employing "capital" in a particular way.

The banker, like other merchants, has a stock of goods. His stock or capital is a multifarious assortment of public credit notes, and private debit notes. For his craft skill, in dealing on the basis of his stock of goods and the credit of his group, the banker gets his remuneration in the form of "discount," "interest," or "commission." But his stock as capital is like other forms of capital, in that it calls for vigilance in the maintenance of its quantity and its value. The attendant risks are virtually insurable, and so the cost of maintaining this capital is a definite and calculable rate. Perhaps one-tenth of one per cent. would cover the risk. Thus we see, that so far the toll taken by the "city" from the passage of goods in transit, whether from eastend to westend, or elsewhere, is made up of two elements. First there is the payment to the Banker for his craft skill, which certainly ought not to be less than what is earned by a first-rate workshop foreman or by the manager of a co-operative store. Next there is the insurance rate for maintaining his stock of goods. But the total of those two items is only a small fraction of the banker's gross tribute. How account for

the balance? If it is true, as Ricardo taught, that capital plays an initiating part in the economic cycle, then something is payable to the banker on that score. But is it true?

In some such way we can imagine Marx teasing out the problem of "Capital" as he saw it in "the city" and the Eastend. There grew up in his mind a view of the situation which was the reverse of Ricardo's. In effect he replied to Ricardo: "You have misplaced the labels on your deities of the marketplace. The real name of your colossal figure is not Capital but Labour. And if the natural order of things took its course, the mannikin in the hand of Labour would be Capital." Thus the upshot of the Marxian economics is to turn Ricardo's argument inside out as in pulling off a stocking. Labour and Capital are factors in production, and must therefore be maintained out of production. The surplus goes, or should go, to that which initiated the cycle, and this, argued Marx, is not Capital, but Labour. Since, however, the surplus does, in point of fact, go to Capital, how account for this reversal of the natural process? And further, how restore to Labour the rightful reward of which it has been, and is being robbed? The answer to these two questions became his life quest. His great work, begun as "A Criticism of Political Economy," turned as it went on into "Das Kapital," that Bible of countless men and women of advanced politics everywhere. He sought answers to his problems from two main sources. One was historic investigation carried on through long and patient years in the British Museum. The other, we may imagine, to have been the observations of his walks in London. Of the things and people as he saw them in the eastend, and in the city we have taken a glimpse. How did the westend appear to him? Doubtless as the paradise of the "consumer," in sharpest contrast to the limbo of the producer in the eastend. Now the consumer, *par excellence*, is the "lady." This bird of bright pilgrimage, during her "season in town" has a daily round marked by "the performance of leisure," as that clear-sighted economist, Mr. Thorstein Veblen, calls it. To take a few illustrative scenes, as they might be witnessed in the last years of Marx, during the '80's of the 19th century. It was then he was struggling with the latter volumes of "Das Kapital," those which were edited and published by his friend, Engels, after Marx's death.

(30). Before a mansion in one of the fashionable squares stands an equipage which society journalists call "smart." That implies, amongst other meritorious qualities, that horses, harness, woodwork, and metal all shine with a polish necessitating muscular exertion capable, perhaps, of cultivating a smallholding. The front door of the mansion swings open, and one of the ladies of the household descends. She is attended by two footmen, resplendent

in archaic attire; a third in a soberer livery opens the carriage door. The function of these three servitors in the social scheme is to exhibit and make manifest to the world at large the lady's status by a display of "conspicuous waste," as Mr. Veblen calls it. The first stoppage, perhaps, is at a modiste of Bond Street, there to inspect and try on a thing of beauty designed by an artist evidently to crown an Olympian goddess, which, to be sure, is precisely what the lady is. And so from place to place we might follow her daily "performance of leisure," now in the hands of the manicurist, again at a party, fête or wedding, now at a club lunch, again at Hurlingham or at the opera, and finally refreshing exhausted nature by the fifth or sixth meal of the day at a midnight supper in the Savoy Hotel.

The male of this species is sometimes more and sometimes less strenuous than the female in the "performance of leisure." An example of the former is the "sportsman." That is a type as well known as it is highly appreciated. The London crowd places it at the very topmost pinnacle of popularity. (31). An example of the less strenuous type is the clubman. As he was in the days of Marx, he remained till 1914, and is still in the older and more venerable specimens. But to recall him in his prime, as the contemporary counterpart of the "lady" of the '80's of the last century. About noon you might see him, groomed to a pitch of perfection, descending from a hansom: a massive servitor solemnly opens the club doors; a clerkly servitor takes silent and respectful note of the member's name and entry; an alert page boy hastens to relieve him of his hat and stick. In the older clubs of high repute an adult male replaces the page boy in aiding the other servitors to display "conspicuous waste" in the "vicarious performance of leisure." Our clubman saunters into the reading room. There the tedium of waiting for lunch is relieved by a luxuriously-upholstered armchair and a newspaper impartially devoted to sport, politics, finance, scandal, and war. Luncheon is a feast for the mind no less than the mouth. It is prepared with all the resource and art of a chef paid at the rate of a headmaster, and served in silence with an exquisite finish of courtly gesture. It is followed by a choice alcoholic aid to digestion, brewed in a far-away monastery, from a recipe of long-guarded secrets. The repast terminates with a gentle stimulus to the torpid soul concocted from Arabian berries. In the afternoon there is polo or similar resource of muscular fitness for the younger clubman, and the game supplies a mild excitement to seniors and lady friends as spectators. A long-protracted dinner-party in a westend mansion occupies the earlier part of the clubman's evening, and over the later part decency draws her veil.

(32). In a walk from Trafalgar Square through Pall Mall, St.

James' Street, and Piccadilly to Hyde Park, you see not one, two or three, but dozens of these palaces of Olympus, in which the plebeian "pub" is transformed into the patrician club.

(33). The House of Commons has been called the "finest club in London." But that is to treat ironically the very Ark of the British Covenant, its CONSTITUTION. Yet assuredly there is little excuse for withholding veneration from this sublime growth of the ages, since historians disclosed its ancient pedigree, and jurists revealed the true theory of its working. The former have, with infinite industry of research, traced its roots back into the dim past until these are discerned even penetrating the soil of the primeval German Forests, hallowed ground to our leading race-theorists, and their recently innumerable following. The jurists, on their side, have shown by ingenious analysis how the adequate working of the Constitution is dependent on the instincts and habits of our Governing and Administrative Classes. To say nothing more of that immemorial Home of Freedom, the German Forests, we must nevertheless pause upon the constitutional significance of the Governing and Administrative Classes. For, accepting the maintenance of the Constitution as an ideal of national policy, one begins to see in the association of these classes with Parliament and its executive offices, a justification of that otherwise inexplicably large consumption of goods and services by the Westend of the Metropolis. How natural, therefore, that the element of ceremony, so little marked in other clubs, should be conspicuous in the Houses of Parliament. Consider, for instance, the experiences of a "provincial" constituent in making a call on his M.P. at Westminister. (34). After running the gauntlet of a double row of columnar policemen he finds himself in an outer hall called "The Lobby." That is the modest designation of a vast central chamber with many corridors, the whole displaying the splendour of a mosque and the proportions of cathedral aisles. (35). Here the constituent is left for a while to ruminate on the dignity and splendour of parliamentary life; for if these be the outer courts what must be the inner sanctuaries! (36). The reflections of the constituent are disturbed by a cry, "hats off; the Speaker comes." There enters a stately procession of figures made majestic by the insignia of authority and the habiliments of archaic ritual. That is how the august and pontifical Speaker is conducted to his dais in the Lower Chamber. By these and other well-devised ceremonies is made manifest to constituents and to the world at large the potent mystery called Legislation.

All these things doubtless were well observed by Karl Marx. Nor would other aspects of the legislative mystery, less in evidence, escape his attention. Its mode of working, for instance. (37).

Wearied by their legislative labours, M.P.'s retire for rest and refreshment to the smoking room or other less strenuous parts of the many-chambered house. But their repose is disturbed by the imperative summons of the "division bell." Instantly follows a scene of bustling activity. Cigars are extinguished and put aside; teacups are hurriedly emptied; there is a rush to the door, each member eager to enter the division lobby and so contribute his share to the decision of the legislature on a national question.

The particular question is (to take an average sample), shall the Grand Track Railway Company be allowed to drive its line into the town of Mudford, already served by two other railways? Now the working of the Parliamentary system is such that, summoned by the division bell from smoking room, dining hall and lobbies, members often do not know what the particular question is until after they have recorded their vote. But this does not preclude a wise decision by Parliament as to whether Mudford shall be blessed or cursed by a third railway terminus. So potent for penetrating to the heart of things are the inherent qualities of the Party System and the Representative Principle. These two mystical entities are respectively the active and the passive elements of parliamentary life. They are the male and female elements which combine to sustain and renew the vitality of parliamentary institutions. But to maintain with vigour the warfare of parties by hurling rhetorical thunderbolts across the floor of the house all the time is a fatiguing business. Hence the need for relaxation after the close of the sitting. Then the party champions put aside their weapons, and may be seen departing from the arena in friendly groups, Liberals, Tories and Radicals united in pleasing fraternity.

An institution displaying such an array of qualities was bound to spread through the modernized world. (38). So the "Mother of Parliaments" bred a family of daughters handsomely installed in the national capitals from Washington to Buda-Pesth. (39).

All these things Marx saw, and saw through. But not with complete understanding. His mind was too severely handicapped. The embitterment of poverty does not conduce to clarity of insight, and still less perhaps does the logic of Hegel. Make a marriage between the abstractions of Ricardo and the metaphysics of Hegel, rear their offspring in that sepulchre of dessicated erudition, the British Museum Library; and you ensure a progeny of fallacies. Give a further education in the international school of revolutionary intrigue, and you create a forcing bed of subversive politics. Those who grow up in such a milieu of mind and body, can hardly fail to generalize the contrast of Eastend and Westend into the shattering ethic of a Class War *à outrance*. They can hardly fail of an impassioned desire to substitute for the Dictatorship of Capital implicit in the Ricardian economics, a Dictatorship of Labour.

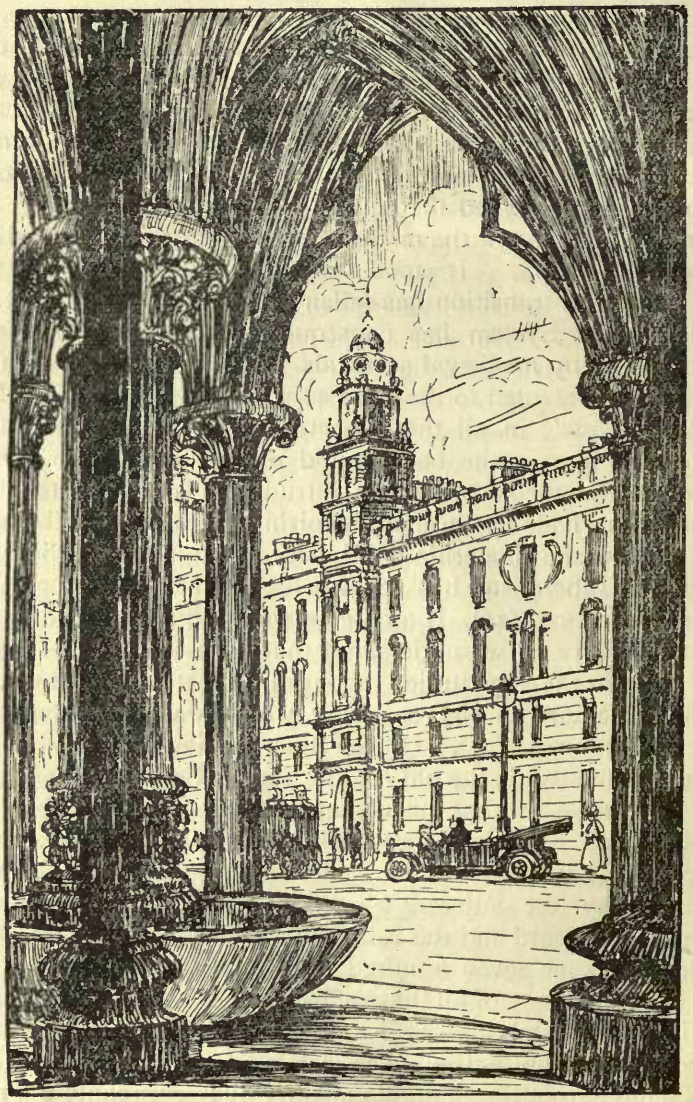
The Imperialists and their *KULTUR*.

Karl Marx lived long enough to see the waning of Parliaments and the rise into foremost prominence of another type of governmental organisation. In Westminster he saw the new palaces of bueaucracy rise and spread along Whitehall. Each of these was for Marx a Ministry of Government in no mere formal sense. And if the officials ministered less to the needs of the "People" than to the desires of a class, that was no fault of the system. It was an aspect of the class war capable of reversion in the final victory of the People. And indeed, it does seem, on the face of things, as though these busy hives of trained and conscientious officials completed and crowned the edifice of State Government.

In the evolution of the modern State a stage was marked by the rise of Parliament. It stood for the transition from the feudal age. But this transition has fallen short of full attainment. The Parliamentary System has consequently remained imperfect because marred by mediæval survivals. (40). Hence the symbolism of the vista presented to the gaze as you contemplate the "Mother of Parliaments" in all the majesty of its spacious architecture. There is a blot in the background of the picture, for there the towers of the mediæval abbey intrude. To eliminate all such intrusive survivals has been an inspiring quest of the Liberal tradition. Now the modernized Ministry, though not to be credited directly to Liberalism, has nevertheless developed in logical post-Liberal sequence. (41). If a date be wanted for the historic advent of the Ministry as we understand that term to-day, one may perhaps point to the substitution, about mid-nineteenth century, of the India Office for the city company which was the parent of our Oriental Empire. (42). Of the East India Company itself the real representative is the old trading fort. From that half military half mercantile origin, the distance is not immeasurable to the Colonial and Foreign Offices, which are part of the same vast edifice that houses the India Office. (43). But its immensity is outranged by the adjacent block which accommodates the Local Government Board and the Education Department, with a southern frontage of some seven hundred feet. (44).

The architecture of all these offices of our centralised administration is appropriately free from trace of Gothic influence. It is, on the contrary, if not entirely classical, yet certainly middle classical. How remote from the thoughts of their busy occupants the pointed arch and the habit of mind that went with it let a veracious anecdote tell. (45). An artist, on the look out for civic vistas, sketched a turret of the Local Government Board as seen through the pointed arch of the drinking fountain in Parliament Square. He happened to show this picture to an official, who during many years' service had passed daily through Parliament Square to and from his office.

"Charming picture," said the official, "quite a happy thought to have invented the arch of the drinking fountain to frame the Tower." "But, replied the astonished artist, "don't you recognise that it's a drawing of the actual fountain and arch?" There-

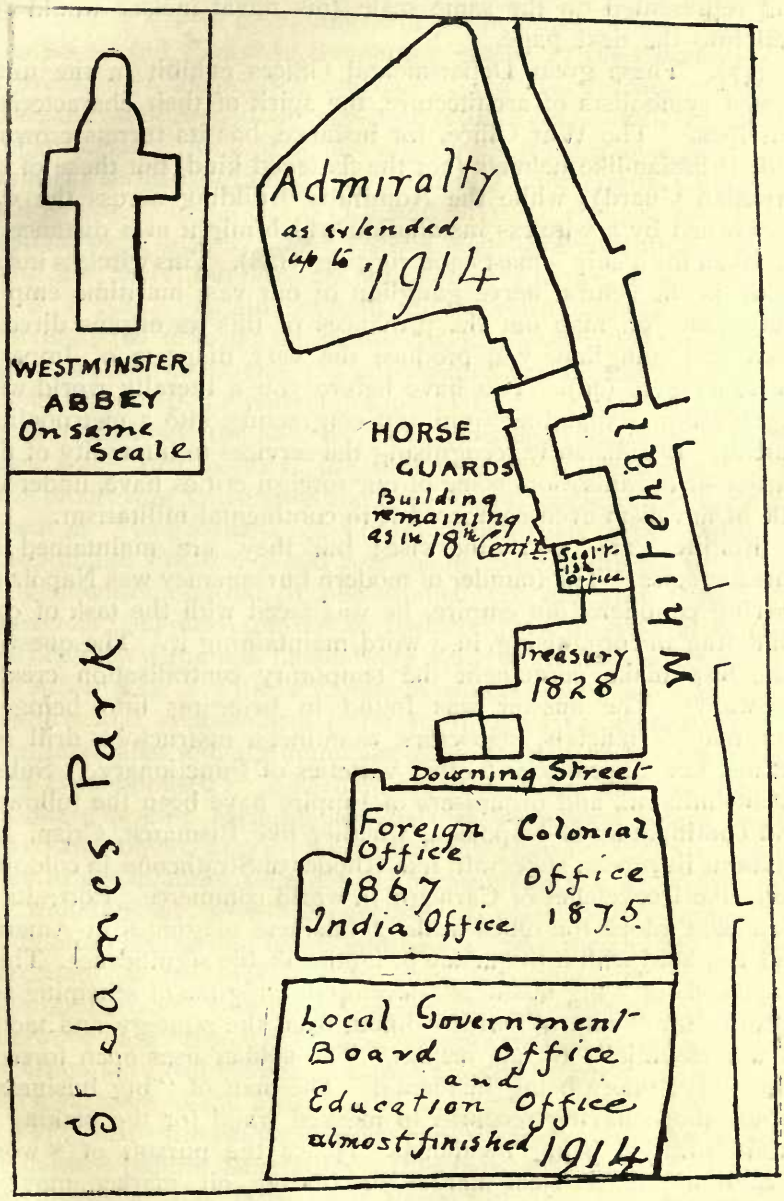


BEYOND THE BUREAUCRAT'S PURVIEW (45).

upon ensued a little discussion which elicited from the official the fact that he had, in the course of his Government service passed by this fountain over ten thousand times without noticing that it was there! To describe this kind of unseeing mind generated by the

life of bureaucracy, the epithet "empapered" has been invented.

(46). In summary of the growth of State Bureaucracy, regard the profile of Whitehall towards St. James' Park. The original bureacratic mouth that took the first bite out of the Park was the



THE PROFILE OF BUREAUCRACY (46).

Horse Guards building. The two jaws of this mouth have, it will be observed, grown outwards and forwards, stage by stage, until they threaten to engulf the whole Park. Prior to the outbreak of

war in 1914, the upper or naval jaw had failed to keep pace with the lower or civil jaw. By throwing out in the war a front tooth of several hundred feet in length the naval jaw has penetrated the body of the Park far beyond the civilian. Added to the diagram and represented on the same scale, this naval incisor would run well into the next page.

(47). These great Departmental Offices exhibit in the undesigned symbolism of architecture, the spirit of their characteristic activities. The War Office, for instance, has its turrets crowned with Prussian-like helmets (not the flattened kind, but those of the Prussian Guard); while the Admiralty Building across the way is crowned by a wireless installation whlch might at a distance be mistaken for a ship's masts and rigging. (48). This wireless installation is the central nerve ganglion of our vast maritime empire, and when you map out the provinces of this as organs directed from that ganglion, you produce the very diagram of Imperial Bureaucracy. (49). You have before you a literally world-wide organisation, expanding from and contracting into a metropolitan bureau. Insufficiently recognising the services to humanity of this particular organisation, some of our foreign critics have, under the title of navalism even compared it to continental militarism.

Empires are won otherwise; but they are maintained by bureaucracies. The founder of modern bureaucracy was Napoleon. Having conquered an empire, he was faced with the task of consolidating and organising, in a word, maintaining it. The question was, how make permanent the temporary centralisation created by war? The answer was found in bringing into being a hierarchy of officials, inspectors, examiners, instructors, drill sergeants, tax collectors, and other varieties of Functionary. Subsequent imitators and organisers of Empire have been the followers and continuators of Napoleon, whether like Bismarck, Crispi and Tisza in European statecraft, like Rhodes or Strathcona, in colonization, like Rockefeller or Carnegie in world commerce. Portraits of Napoleon adorn the office walls of business magnates in America and England with a frequency of unmistakable significance. These Napoleons of "big business" develop in a régime of scheming and fighting for "control" which differs from the strategy and tactics of war essentially in one respect. The soldier uses open force to win glory; booty being incidental. The man of "big business" is not above having recourse to masked fraud for the making of profit, prestige being incidental. Hence the pursuit of "world dominion" in the steel market or in the oil market may be described as a Napoleonic ambition whose fulfilment calls for some of the military virtues and more of the military vices.

(50). The long personal duel of Pitt and Napoleon ended in the death of the former, who succumbed, we may say, to the crush-

ing news of Austerlitz. With Pitt died the greatness of Parliament. But another two or three generations of ferment were needed to adapt the type of government which had by war and trade won a world-wide empire to its maintenance and administration. In this progressive development of political institutions names like Gladstone and Campbell-Bannerman stand for the maintenance of Liberalism in its pristine purity. Rosebery, Asquith, Grey and Haldane are intermediate types, correctly calling themselves Liberal-Imperialists. Amongst the fully-developed personalities of this political series, the names of Disraeli, Chamberlain, Curzon and Milner are landmarks. (51). And of these the greatest has his festival on Primrose Day. Others who have contributed in their kind are Seely, our leading historian of Empire, and Kipling its bard. (52). Again, beyond all these are imperial statesmen differentiated towards the financial type. An early specimen was the first Lord Goschen. As internationalist financier he won fame by modernizing the part of Joseph in Egypt. Adding politics to finance, he made the advance from Liberalism to Imperialism at a time when that political progress still had its detractors. For this pioneering he suffered the mild impeachment of being stigmatized as "Jingoschen." These intermediate types who link Empire and Finance would perhaps be found more numerous than is commonly realized, if one studied not only the Directory of Directors, but also the file of investors at Somerset House, and particularly if the real names were always filed instead (frequently) of substitutes. True a common concern in the expansion of markets and their control is far from implying a concurrence of the imperialist and the financier, since their methods are different and even opposed. But there are those who, like the late Lord Cromer, develop each method to that high level where the two meet and blend. (53). And from his portrait one may gain a clue to the qualities required for harmonizing the divergent ideals of unhampered private "control" of markets by financial co-ordination on the one hand, and on the other their public ordering by State Administration. As you contemplate the strong but unimaginative face of Lord Cromer, you are not inclined to doubt the word of his biographer, who remarks that in his administration of Orientals Lord Cromer was not biassed by pre-occupation with the mysticism of the East.

To satisfy the spiritual needs of the imperial era, the resources of culture require adaptation rather than enlargement. Compare for instance, the Imperialist Press with that of the antecedent Liberal era. The latter was characterized by the sobriety of its reporting, and, in its editorial columns, by the interpretative essay of solemn and prescribed form. But a generation which purchased, read, memorized and absorbed about 200,000 copies of

"Barrack Room Ballads" called for something more enlivening than correctitude in news and its daily interpretation by the dim light of utilitarian philosophy. So news caterers imported from America, what twenty years ago was called "yellow journalism," and to-day "the stunt press." The daily and weekly examples of the latter vie with each other in the selection and presentation of "live" topics. (54). Assuredly scant justice is done to the selective skill of the "stunt" journalist in a recent couplet:—

> "The matutinal rumour and the vespertinal lie
> Which adorn the lucubrations of the press."

The real advance made by this newer journalist is clear. He forms and directs public opinion less by the argument of the leading article than by the emotion of the news column. His principles are two. First that one man who throws his chair out of the window is of more interest to the public than thousands who use it in the ordinary way. Secondly that herd instincts respond most promptly to the primal impulses of fear and hunger. But these are driving forces of Empire, perhaps the main ones. So the imperial journalist manages to serve his God and also Mammon; since there is more profit and quicker return in selling the warm stuff of emotion than in bartering the cold logic of intellect.

A similar adaptation may be observed in the theatre. The drama of the Liberal era was less dull than its leading articles, but just as mechanical. (55). Approach from the rear certain of the larger and more ambitious theatres built at that time, and you would undoubtedly mistake them for factories. Entering by the back door one would receive instant confirmation of that impression. (56). For on all sides there is a complexity of machinery like that of a cotton mill, and presumably requiring almost as much engine power to work it. Contrast with this scene behind the scenes, one of those re-constructed pictures of the Greek Theatre, and a clue is furnished for an understanding of the difference between Sophocles and the composers of revues. It is these latter who have adapted the apparatus of the older playhouse to contemporary tastes. Broadly the adjustment has been made by transforming the theatre into a Music Hall. Choose a few at random from current titles of theatrical plays, and put them side by side with the names of Music Hall revues. (57). What, for instance, is to inform you which piece is running at a theatre and which at a Music Hall as between (say) "Tails Up" and "A Box of Tricks"!? (58). The probable inference that the former was a Music Hall performance and the latter a theatrical one would be incorrect.

A snatch of song from the latter of these two dramatic compositions is worth citing, because the London crowd chose it, by

some instinct of fitness, as an ode of victory to celebrate the armistice :—

"I love her, yes I love her, yes I love
her, yes I do.
I love her, yes I love her, when I've
had one or two.
When I've had three or fow-er,
I love her mow-er and mow-er,
Ireland is the place for Irish Stew."

From noblest dance to shrillest shriek, infinitely varied are the forms which have throughout history given expression to the mænadic instincts of woman and their answering echo in the soul of man. But new modes, it is apparent, remained for invention by the imperial psychosis of the modern metropolis.

The People : their Housing and Education.

From their Ministries at home and their Pro-consulates in the Crown Dominions the Governing and Administrative Classes order the lives of the People with an ever-increasing efficiency. To take a familiar example which illustrates this and other tendencies. There may be a certain restriction in amplitude of houseroom when the worker and his family move from the old-fashioned self-contained house into a flat of the latest model in tenements. (59). But admirable codes of bye-laws for the administration of these tenements make amends. Amongst the many economies thus effected not the least is a decrease in the number of beer and spirit licences, since a single public-house, well placed at a street corner facing the tenements, serves a greatly increased number of customers. From those who tread the path of Empire many sacrifices are called for. Be they on never so modest a peace-footing, yet armies and navies are a drain on the common larder. (60). Statisticians thus sometimes show us pictorially by streams of laden waggons, lorries and carts what the provisioning of a Dreadnought means. When he contemplates such pictures, the patriotic tenement dweller is thrilled by that touch of ecstasy which the sense of his sacrifice arouses in the true devotee. Another moving spectacle is furnished by the barracks which multiply with the march of Empire. But this particular appeal speaks perhaps rather to the daughters of the tenements. It belongs more to the analytical mind of man to observe and interpret the strange similarity in structural type that seems to unite the tenements and barracks as the respective civil and military halves of the same social whole.

To perfect the working of the imperial system, educational adjustments are, of course, necessary. The educational problem of bureaucracy is not difficult to state. Given a self-renewing body

of conscientious functionaries, find the type of general education through which the system may be administered with least friction. Two conditions are essential. There must be a certain uniformity of mental pattern throughout the governed. Secondly their disciplined docility must be ensured. Hence the development of compulsory schooling directed to these ends. The knowledge taught must be standardized in reference to official codes, and it must be

THE LEARNING OF THE SCHOOLS (64).

memorized in such wise as to obliterate spontaneous tendencies to critical thought and substitute therefor a fixed habit of acceptance towards official suggestion. An associated method of physical drill and prolonged daily confinement in an unstimulating milieu are manifest further scholastic requirements. A very considerable measure of success rewards the efforts of our imperial bureaucrats to attain these educational ideals. (61). Observe, in illustration, the playgrounds attached to our elementary schools. The children are protected against the disturbing influences of the outside world by a high wall, reinforced often by a *cheveaux de frise* of barbed wire. Within two kinds of games are played. One is drill and the other a kind of *mêlee,* which travesties the football field, and is, as one might say, a shoving match. They are complementary exercises, imparting in the one case Discipline and in the other Character,—those twin divinities of the English Public School tradition. Again, note how the system pushes its discipline into the home. The mother of Jimmie, aged five and a half, decides to let the child run wild for a term. An inspector calls and demands the child for the schoolmaster. The mother refuses. She is summoned to court and fined, but still refuses, whereupon the inquisitorial process is repeated till discipline is re-established and Jimmie reinterned.

This direction of the child mind by the bureaucracy does not, of course, pass without challenge from other groups with traditional rights in the matter. (62). The clerical groups, for instance, whose rival aims were depicted in a famous cartoon of *Punch.* They contend for the child's soul with a vigour so threatening to its body as to call for the protecting arm of Mr. Punch. Again, there is the Manufacturing Interest and the Landed Interest, whose respective attitude to child life largely determines the educational policy of the Liberal and the Conservative parties. (63). Using, again, the insight of the caricaturist,—this time that of the American *Punch,* the *New York Life,*— we discover the distinction between Liberty and Privilege from the standpoint of the child. The silver-buckled shoe of the Tory Landlord presses a shade less heavily on the child's neck than does the broad-soled boot of the Liberal Capitalist.

In the swirl of all these mighty currents of educational interests the old school of pre-industrial type has naturally gone under. (63[a]). What it was like we can gather from the paintings of Richard West, who drew its last lingering remnants in mid-nineteenth century. His two pictures, " The Frown," and " The Dame's School," show an institution, which with all its faults was very human. The personality, the temperament, the mood of the dominie was the active educational force for good and ill. To it the child mind responded like the camera plate to light. Contrast with this old-

fashioned dominie the teacher of to-day. The latter's points of superiority are many. But who would dare deny that something vital has been lost? The modern teacher is trained by the State and even touched by the learning of the Schools. But has there not been some weakening of that inspirational contact between youth and age which is the essence of education? To be sure this enfeeblement of the spiritual nexus that binds the generations is far from confined to the elementary teacher. It is hardly less marked in higher education. If we could make a composite portrait of the contemporary teacher from university, secondary school and elementary school what would it be like? Well, has not the modern teacher long suffered a triple agony of academic pedantry, compulsory games, and official codes? (64). Switch, mortar board and gown remain, ink abounds, books multiply, but flesh and blood cannot stand the strain. It is to be feared that the composite figure would be but a skeleton among the cultural ruins of a world made abstract by wiping off the face of our globe both its geographical and its human realities. Perched on a pile of dead erudition, the bird of Pallas stands by, disconsolate, unnourished. The accompanying sketch we owe to the pencil of Mr. Mairet.

That Great Leviathan.

If it was the master mind of Napoleon that laid the foundations of modern bureaucracy, it was the genius of Bismarck that built the model superstructure. (65). Now it is no mere coincidence, but a symbolic event that in seeking for a portrait of Bismarck the first to be found should have been attached to one of Karl Marx. They were more than contemporaries and compatriots. They also had a common faith in the cult of the State. Junker-Politics and Social Democratic Politics are alike to the detached eye of the outside observer in being sects of one great Faith. In a still wider horizon one sees both individualist and socialist forms of the cult drawing their doctrinal inspiration from the same philosophical sources. For the nineteenth century this was the toxic thought of Hegel, taken neat or diluted with the muddy waters of Isis. But its original fount is the philosophy of Hobbes. (66). In these times it is unnecessary to draw directly on this semi-sacred origin. For the ideals of Hobbes penetrate all our minds continuously through the daily press. But look for a moment at the pictorial illustration which Hobbes designed for his title-page. (67). Towering over a fair city and its countryside stands a crowned man-monster, the Leviathan. Ranged on his right are the representative instruments and resources of the Temporal Power—soldiers, cannon, fortresses, the battlefield. To show that all these are at his disposal, the sword of Temporal Authority is put into his right hand. On his

left are ranged the apparatus and influences of Spiritual Authority —churches, universities, schools, and the forked lightning of logic. To show that these also are at his disposal the sceptre of Spiritual Power is put into the left hand of the monster. This Leviathan, all powerful and all wise, is the State, absolute over the individual, body, mind and soul. He is the modern Cæsar Augustus, to whom should be rendered the things that are Cæsar's and likewise the things that are God's.

To retrace our steps along the speculative road that leads from the Industrial Revolution to the Great War. (67[a]). We have seen the original philosophy of "the useful" enlarged by the mechanics of "the fit," interpreted by the economics of Mammon, enriched by the sophistries of Moloch. (67[b]). Thus in our era of civilization great bodies of men have lived and worked, made war and peace, being mainly guided and inspired thereto by a conglomerate doctrine compounded in various proportions of Benthamite Utilitarianism, Herbert Spencerism and its better known variety Darwinism, Ricardian Political Economy and the common mixtures of Hobbes and Hegel. We may have been ignorant of the very names of these "isms" and philosophies, nevertheless they are the cardinal points to which the mind of each of us claiming to be modern has been the magnetic needle. There is the compass by which we have been wont to steer on six days of the week whatever pole star of another heaven drew us on the seventh. In other words, the effective Spiritual Power of the Modern Age has been mainly built out of these doctrinal components. (67[c]). Carried along on the Car of State, this spiritual power has advanced with a movement that seemed to some a triumph of political progress; to others a passage of Juggernaut.

To return to the achievement of Prussia. Given the State as a form of the Absolute, the resulting doctrine was bound to realize itself in deed. The main credit for this creative phase belongs to the Prussian Government under Bismarck. Consequently, it is in Berlin that the outstanding monuments of the State cult occur. There in the pantheon of The Leviathan a central place is rightly given to the colossal statue of Bismarck with all its wealth of allegory and embellishment. How appropriate that a background should be furnished for the Bismarck statue by the façade of that Reichstag which he devised to be his creature. (68). The prophet who prepared the way for Bismarck is doubly commemorated in the Hegel Platz, with its central statue of the great dialectician. (69). And the demi-gods of the system are preserved in marble all along that Assyrioid Way, the *Sieges Allee*. (70). Correspondingly for the People of Berlin there have been provided an equipment of barrack-like tenements and tenement-like barracks far outrivalling

those of Westminster-London, at least so far as these latter had developed up to 1914. (70[a], 70[b]).

But there is no reason in the inherent theory of the State why the detail of organisation should follow precisely the Junker model. Substitute for Junker minister an "expert" administrator and for the conscript army an industrial army. Substitute for the history of Empire and songs of the barracks and music-hall, the history of the People and Songs of Labour. Make these adaptations, and you have a State organisation of popularized type. In short, the ideal of socialism is for the Marxians to take over the organised bureaux of the Imperial State and run them in the interests of the People. The rapidity of certain changes in Berlin, which transformed Imperial Germany into a Democratic State, all, so to speak, within twenty-four hours, is thus in a measure explained. The example of Bolshevik Russia illustrates a more rigid adherence to the theory of the Class War, and consequently the more thoroughgoing substitution of a Proletarian Dictature for one of mingled patrician and bureaucratic elements.

The Duel of Anarchist and Financier.

Thanks to the prestige of the Prussian Government, of Bismarck its protagonist, of Hegel its thinker, and Marx its popularizer and adapter, State Socialism became established as the orthodox faith inspiring progressive politics throughout Western Europe. The anti-state socialists were, so to speak, driven into dissent. But like all nonconformist bodies in active opposition, they throve and multiplied. (71). Thus it has come about that the vague term Anarchism is a covering cloak for dissenting groups and types, so far apart as bomb throwers and *dynamitards* at one end and, at the other, Franciscan humanists like Reclus and Kropotkin. (72). French syndicalism is to be understood as a vigorous central group within the wide and varied anarchist fold. For those interested in the historical development of these groups it may be noted that the contemporary opposition of state-socialists and anti-state syndicalists repeats and continues the original struggle of German versus French influence for control of the old "International."

(73). Between the two hostile camps of advanced labour there is happily a middle party of adjustment and possible reconciliation. This is the party of Guild Socialism which, we may suppose, owes its being to the British tradition of compromise.

But anarchism is more than an offshoot from pristine socialism. It has in it also an element of more spontaneous origin. For anarchism is also a repercussion from that phase of modern life which in the terse language of America is called "big business." As socialism is the people's complement and counterpart to state bureaucracy, so anarchism is the people's rejoinder to "big

business." Against that Goliath this anarchist David is out with his sledge hammer of Direct Action. (73[a]). But it will be recalled that in a recent encounter with the hosts of the Philistines, the anarchist David did effective execution with the delicate instruments of the electrical craft. (73[b]). It was the occasion of the "light that failed" at the Albert Hall.

There was frequently witnessed during the war the phenomenon of the Disappearing Commodity. On Monday rabbits are plentiful at, say, 2s. 6d. On Tuesday the Government ordains 1s. 6d. as the maximum price. On Wednesday there is not a rabbit to be seen in the shops. But this is merely a dramatic instance of a general custom. The manufacturer speeds up his factory when prices are high, slackens it when they are low. "Big business" is the organisation of the small supply at the high price. To this machinery of the Darwinian ideal, the Americans have contributed most, but all the other nations of the western civilization in degree and kind. For it is the natural and inevitable tendency under our system of production for profit rather than for use. Success in business under this system turns upon skill in limiting the supply to the point where competition of the buyer is keenest. In other words, success depends on steady and continuous application of what Mr. Thorstein Veblen calls "judicious sabotage." And "big business" is the art of combining manufacturers and merchants for the better practise of judicious sabotage.

Increasingly is recognised, in this régime, the value of an apprenticeship to the bank and the stock exchange. These being the generalised markets that touch all others, it is through them that the Combine becomes the monopolist Trust. Big business is, therefore, in effect, a form of Finance. Now the financier is a skilled psychologist. He studies the working of the human mind. It is his business to play upon human weakness. Simultaneously with the limitation of Supply he organises the stimulation of Demand, and so creates a public mind attuned to his blandishments. Hence appear all those modern developments, which its cultivators call the science of Advertisement. As advertiser the man of Big Business hires the pen of the writer and the pencil of the artist. (74). But it is to tell, not the writer's story, nor show the artist's vision, but to serve the salesman. The picture of a handsome athlete, repeated in all your favourite journals, along with the legend that facile princeps cigarettes are at once a tonic and a sedative, persuades you almost that cigarettes and health are interchangeable terms. It is less easy to believe that the abounding vitality of a young queen among women is derived from Messrs. Bolus' purple pills.

In such ways does the advertiser appeal to the athlete and the

æsthete, actual or dormant in each of us. Let the advertiser combine these two grounds of appeal, reinforce them by the academic, salt the mixture with imperialist fervour, and he becomes one of the real spiritual powers of these days. Perhaps that ideal was not absent from the scheming brain of Cecil Rhodes, when he ordained that part of his munificent legacy to Oxford should go towards extending his old College to the main thoroughfare of the city and there providing it with an imposing façade. For Mr. Rhodes was more than an imperialist financier. He was representative of his times in amazingly complete fashion. Cosmopolitan in finance, imperialist in foreign policy, Home Ruler and therefore of the Liberal tradition in domestic policy, he combined in himself the three great temporalities of his age. And the greatest of these is finance, because the financier has achieved the highest perfection of finish in the corresponding spirituality, which is the science of advertisement, and its application in art. Contemplating in admiration the new Oriel façade, the sociologist when next he observes, by way of contrast, one of the many house fronts given over to the billsticker will not fail to classify this latter as an archaic survival from the early days of pre-scientific advertising.

In commemoration of his unprecedented benefaction to the University and to his old College, the pious donor, carved in stone, is pedestalled and canopied at the focal point of the new Oriel facade. (74[a]). By the undesigned symbolism of the time-spirit his statue squarely faces the porch of St. Mary's, the church which for centuries enshrined the soul of the University and kindled the imagination of a long line of prophets and preachers from Wcyliffe to Newman. Above the porch of St. Mary's stands the sacred statue of Her whom the University once honoured as Queen of Heaven and Mistress of Science. But the student of to-day as he perambulates "the High" will be reminded that the modern point of view looks rather to the King of the Market and the Master of Finance.

(75). Another simple mode in that art of the hoardings which constitutes the characteristic public art of our times, is to tell a story in *deshabille*. For an example of this you need not walk many yards in any up-to-date town. (76). Intermediate between unhandy beginnings and the finished products of advertising science are the somewhat facile triumphs won by the advertiser in the realm of clothing—especially underclothing. In the domestic field he also reaps a rich harvest from the homing instincts that play around furniture, and the subsequent demand for baby food.

(77). A final illustration of the subtle effects got by masked advertisement. You see on the walls of the Academy, hung on the line, a portrait of Sir Tono Bungay. It is an admirable speci-

men of modern portraiture by an artist who has achieved the rare distinction of being at once fashionable and a master. A figure, life-sized, august, almost pontifical, looms from a dark background, delicately suggestive of the mystic aura that surrounds the millionaire. A reproduction of this masterpiece naturally appears in all the illustrated papers, those cheap and popular, as well as the expensive ones. No motive, venal or servile, can reasonably be imputed to these editors, even though their journals draw a large revenue from giving publicity to the many wares (which range from mouth-wash and insect powder to motor cars and aeroplanes) "controlled" by Sir Tono, nor even if (as is not unlikely), he is a large shareholder in the various companies or syndicates that own the respective journals. No, on the contrary, there is every reason to suppose that the editor of each newspaper genuinely shares the common veneration for millionaires. And if so, what more natural than to publish the great man's portrait as a spontaneous act of editorial homage?

It is this financial Goliath whom the anarchist David confronts. But the latter—if one may change the metaphor a little abruptly—has his own row to hoe. The crop he cultivates bears a natural resemblance to that of his opponents. Its first fruits are observable in the trade union policy of ca' canny. The bricklayer says "If I lay 500 bricks instead of 1,000 and prevent my mates from laying the other 500 then I can double my wages or halve my work at a stroke. Perhaps I can even do better, because the diminished supply will involve a more intense demand, and so I may actually double my wage for half the work." That is the leaf he takes from the manufacturer's book of judicious sabotage. And having discerned this key to success under the price system, the workman logically goes on to its grand scale application in the General Strike. There he parallels as well as may be with his clumsy technique the Trusts' policy of wholesale restriction of output in a falling market. But, it will be asked, what of the syndicalist sabotage which actually destroys property? The aggressive syndicalist may well reply, "what of the dismantling and closing down of productive plants which attend the birth of the great combines? What of the incredible waste through advertisement? What of habitual purchase and suppression of new patents and improved processes by monopolistic Trusts with a vested interest in antiquated processes and machinery?"

The anarchist ideal has been expressed and embodied in an ominous phrase. To "incinerate the documents" is this anarchist exhortation. The documents which it is proposed to put to the stake are those "securities" or legal claims on the national output which crowd the strong boxes of the leisure-class. The large-scale manufacture and sale of these securities is the business on

which the ablest financiers specialize. It is a business in which success often turns on skill in depreciating the value of rival securities. Hence there has developed a sabotage of the Stock Exchange with an elaborate technique. Its characteristic operation is appropriately termed "bearing," or in America "selling short." A certain refinement practised by the master broker is to depreciate not the securities of rival groups, but those of his own. Turning like a wolf on his own pack, he stampedes (often through a press campaign), the mass of security-holders (both professional and private), by a skilful "bearing" operation. He then buys up the deflated paper at a rubbish price. True that price may not be far from the real value of the article. But next follows the "bull" operation. Prices are again sent soaring, often by a press campaign of disguised advertisement termed "boosting" in America The bated hook is swallowed by the public. The financier lands another big fish. Then the "bearing" begins anew, and the round of fortune-making continues by skilful alternation of sabotage and advertisement.

Human nature is prone to extremes. That weakness explains, without excusing the demand sometimes heard from a hardened anarchist that his party should pass from an incineration of documents to a combustion of the financier. This evil disposition has been voiced by vindictive oratory even in this land of mild animosities where the use of the stake for composing spiritual differences has long been discontinued. (78). The occasion was a mass meeting on Tower Hill, where impassioned men were proclaiming a flight to the new Eden on the wings of the General Strike.

Assuredly in the matter of sabotage, latent or patent, judicious or aggressive, the business man and the working man are in the same galley. And for companions they had recently the whole body of "militant" suffragettes, who in a society saturated with ideas of sabotage naturally used that weapon to get what was refused them. The truth, to be sure, is that "big business" men, scheming financiers, syndicalist workmen and militant feminists are alike victims of the same impulse and habit. Its tap root is nourished by that profiteering which since the war we have been learning to recognize as an inevitable characteristic of the price system. It is the impulse and habit of getting for oneself and one's group, much for little or even something for nothing, at no matter what cost to the community at large. (79). With the aid of Mr. Punch's discerning eye we recently saw Government Departments infected by the same disease.

(80). The saying of Goethe that one rich man makes many poor ones becomes more vivid when rendered in terms of housing. The millionaires have their palaces; the dis-millioned their doss-

houses. And for the nightly overflow of the dosshouses there are the seats on the Thames Embankment, if the policeman permits, being moved to relax the rigour of his instructions to protect what is provided for the repose of the respectable by day from defilement by the outcast at night.

There are many, to be sure, who break under the strain of poverty. Their sufferings touch the heart of the rich, and so these contribute generously to hospitals and asylums. Mental illness, it will be noted, excites less compassion than bodily. It therefore happens that asylums for the most part fall to the charge of the public purse. (81). But the hospitals maintained by private charity are conspicuous features of every great city. But be they never so many and so vast, the cry is always for more. And the heart of the millionaire responds. After all, is he not a human being with a craving for emotional outlets? True, he endows modern art on the hoardings and lavishly spends on archaic art for the adornment of his many mansions. Yet these outlets are far from exhausting his reservoirs of feeling. There remains ample material for a cult of philanthropy. And so Hospitals are added to Banks, Stock Exchanges, and Dosshouses as the characteristic buildings of the Financial Age.

Sabotage and Advertisement are the twin stars of the financial firmament. But the millionaire is merely their most manifest emanation. Their subtle influence has penetrated the structure of contemporary civilization; it pervades our habits of thought and deflects our outlook often when we are least aware of its insidious bias.

Practised covertly by men of business, advocated openly by the extremists of Labour, applied deliberately to political purpose by sensitive women, sabotage was one of the major forces that made for war. Like-minded allies were at hand in the "frightfulness" of Prussia, the "conspicuous waste" of the leisure class, and the cult of emulation in all classes, moral reflex of the rapacity that triumphs in competitive business. Here was a quadruple alliance, well calculated to eventuate in a world-wide War of Attrition, waged to the verge of famine, plague and collapse.[1] But how reconcile this mania of waste and carnage with the dictates of common-sense, the instincts of frugality, the sanctities of life, the

1. It will be observed that the analysis here given applies not to the outbreak of hostilities but to the pre-war state of so-called peace in which war was all the time latent. As to the proximate causes of the actual combat, evidence continues to accumulate in overwhelming mass confirming the popular verdict of the Central Empires' guilt. The facts as far as we know them point to a conspiracy of three plotters. Berlin, by long and sedulous care, prepared the torch of war; then in a moment of ambition and desperation, Vienna and Buda-Pesth lighted the torch and flung it into the European powder magazine.

traditions of Christendom? Assuredly a hard question awaiting the dispassionate thinking and chilled feeling of a later generation. But reflect that instantly on the outbreak of war the Advertiser cast his spell over the belligerent Governments. Under the enchantment of the billsticker they rushed to the hoardings. The paste-pot polluted, without protest from the public, even the semi-sacred walls of Whitehall. The art of the hoardings and the wiles of the advertisement column were adopted by Governments as fit instruments wherewith to persuade the minds and stir the emotions of their peoples. And this tuning of feelings and imagination, this stimulation of energies and ideas, was maintained at concert pitch during month after month, year after year. How natural therefore that one of these Governments should develop this situation to its logical issue. In the climax were three notable events. In the first place it happened that when a Minister was needed as Director of Information, the Government selected for that intellectual effort a millionaire-financier. Again, to the almost priestly office of Enemy Propaganda was appointed a merchant in the traffic of advertisement. (82). And finally, that no dubiety might remain as to the sources of official inspiration, the Government distributed through the press a lengthily reasoned advertisement of which the central exhortation was to

FOLLOW THE LEAD OF THE
MEN WITH THE MILLIONS.

These things would be incredible if they were not facts. But they constitute a remarkable example of consistency. Perhaps it was necessary, in order to reduce completely to absurdity that fundamental tenet of modern politics, in which practically all parties concur, viz., the assumption by the State of Spiritual Authority as well as Temporal Sovereignty. Down that broad road of the descent to Avernus went all schools of "power politics" to their doom in the crash of 1914. And what precisely is this illusion of power politics? It is the temptation to Cæsarist rule that perenially besets now the patrician now the plebeian arm of the Temporal Power, or again their combination, parliamentary, bureaucratic or what not. The inevitable catastrophe that sooner or later befalls all such "Dictatures" is the scourge of the thwarted spirit. All who set up an Absolute State, as also those who accept it in any of its protean forms, repudiate the need for an independent Spiritual Power, and so violate the supreme condition of political advancement. Thus these modern politicians have been playing the part of the fool who said in his heart there is no God. Hence they have led their peoples into the slough of Militarism, from which these latter scramble out with grave risk of falling into a like bog of their own making which is Bolshevism.

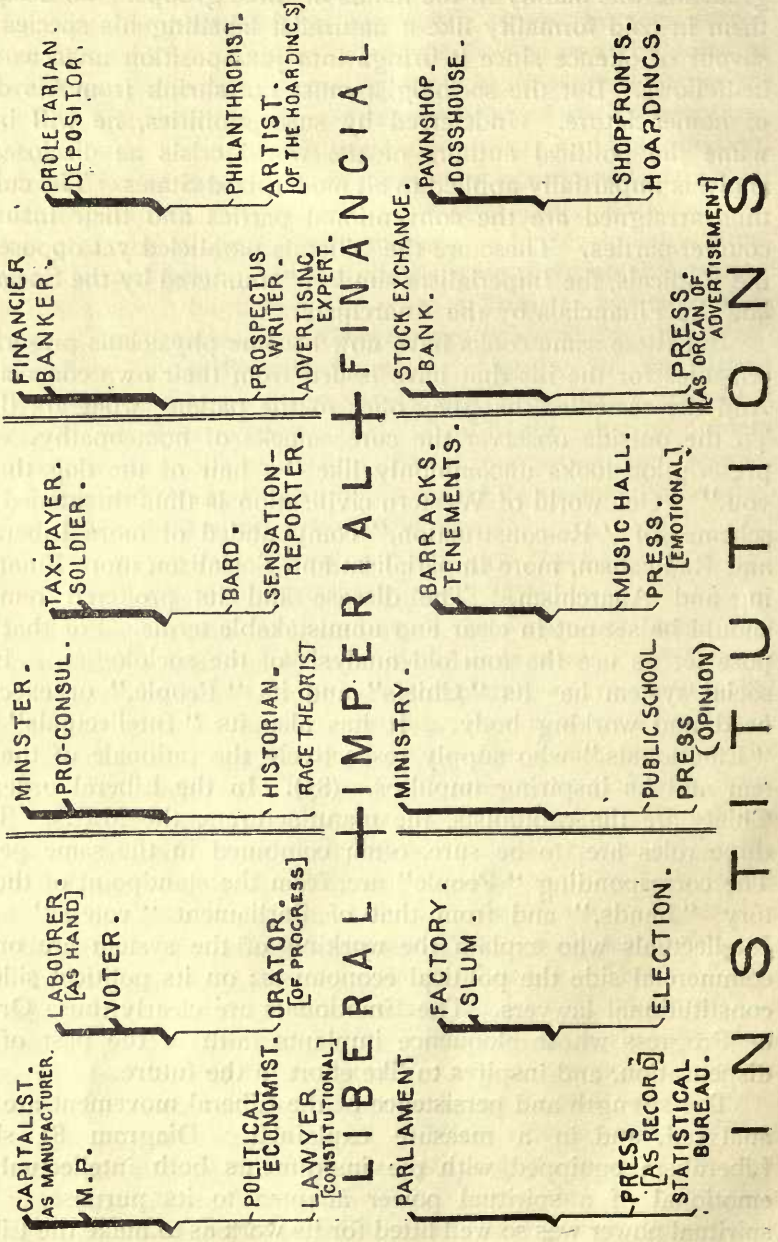
War, Revolution—or Eutopia.

The hell's broth on which the world has lately been supping had many cooks to prepare it. But the compounding of the ingredients was mainly in the hands of three groups. To designate them in cold formality like a naturalist labelling his species may savour of offence since it brings into juxtaposition unaccustomed bedfellows. But the sociologist must not shrink from his duties of nomenclature. Undeterred by susceptibilities, he will boldly name the political authors of the world crisis as disclosed by analysis impartially applied to all modernized States. The culprits thus arraigned are the conventional parties and their insurgent counter-parties. These are the Liberals paralleled yet opposed by the Radicals, the Imperialists similarly countered by the Socialists, and the Financials by the Anarchists.

But these same cooks have now become physicians prescribing remedies for the ills that have issued from their own concoctions. And the remedies that they offer to the patient, what are these? To the outside observer the cure smacks of homeopathy. The prescription looks uncommonly like "a hair of the dog that bit you." Our world of Western civilisation is thus threatened with schemes of "Re-construction," compounded of more Liberalism and Radicalism, more Imperialism and Socialism, more Financiering and Anarchism. The disease and its proffered remedies should be set out in clear and unmistakable terms. For that purpose let us use the fourfold analysis of the sociologist. Every social system has its "Chiefs" and its "People," or executive head and working body. It has also its "Intellectuals" and "Emotionals," who supply respectively the rationale of the system and its inspiring impulses. (83). In the Liberal order the Chiefs are the capitalists, the manufacturers, the M.P.s. These three roles are, to be sure, often combined in the same person. The corresponding "People" are, from the standpoint of the factory "hands," and from that of Parliament "voters." The Intellectuals who explain the working of the system are on the commercial side the political economists; on its political side the constitutional lawyers. The Emotionals are clearly those Orators of Progress whose eloquence implants faith in the past of this dispensation, and inspires to like effort in the future.

The strength and persistence of the Liberal movement are thus analysed, and in a measure explained. Diagram 83 shows Liberalism equipped with the instruments both intellectual and emotional of a spiritual power adapted to its purpose. This spiritual power was so well fitted for its work as to make the Liberal Chiefs and their People for long the foremost Temporal couple in the State. But as the economic centre of gravity shifted from

factory to market there came corresponding political changes. So there rose into prominence the Imperial Order with a temporal and spiritual equipment adapted to a double purpose. On the one side was the expansionist ideal and on the other the need for

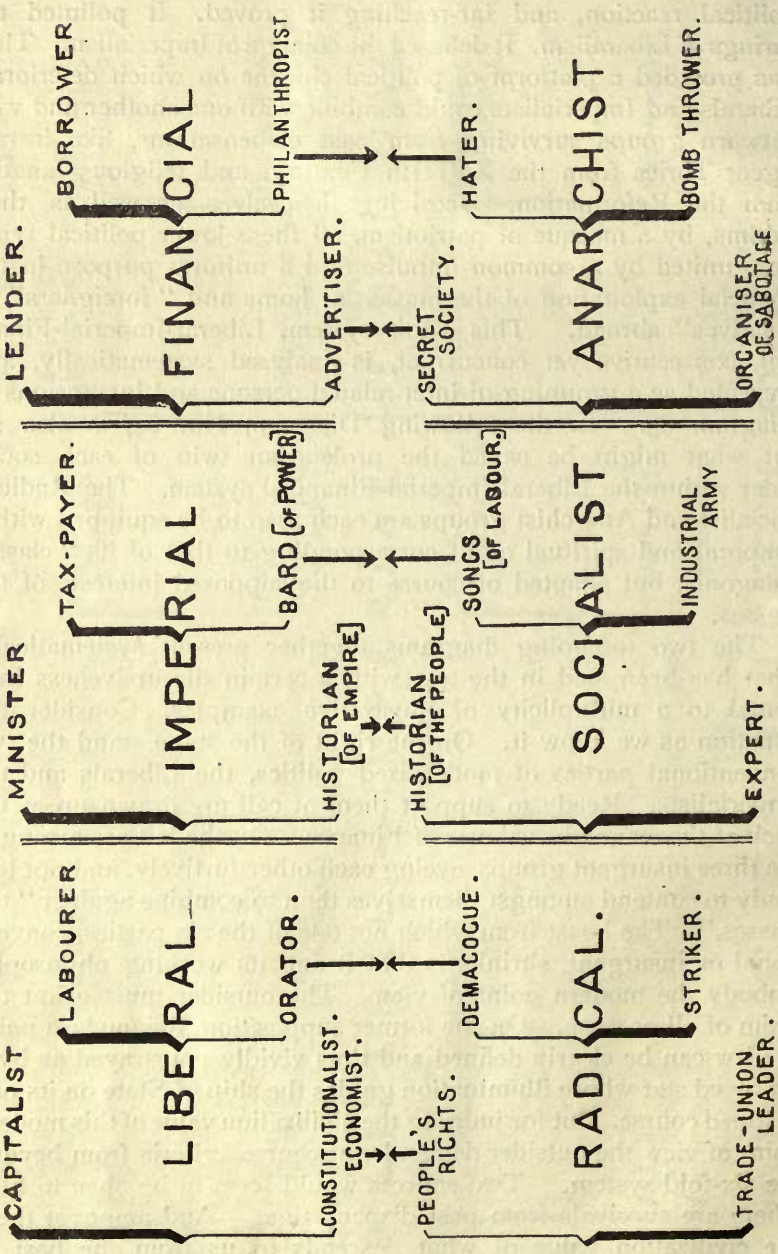


THE LIBERAL-IMPERIAL-FINANCIAL ORDER; ITS TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL POWERS (83).

a regulative system of government to correct the abuses of *laissez-faire*. But below these great secular movements we call Liberalism and Imperialism, there was all the time fermenting out a new social régime of portentous significance. Standing professedly aloof from politics, the Financial Order nevertheless had its political reaction, and far-reaching it proved. It polluted the springs of Liberalism. It debased the coinage of Imperialism. Thus was provided a platform of political chicane on which deteriorate Liberals and Imperialists could combine with one another and with outworn groups surviving from past dispensations, like intransigent Tories from the XVIIIth Century, and religious fanatics from the Reformation. Deceiving themselves, as well as their victims, by a masque of patriotism, all these lower political types were united by a common impulse and a uniform purpose in the financial exploitation of the masses at home and "foreigners" or "natives" abroad. This whole system, Liberal-Imperial-Financial, consecutive yet concurrent, is analysed systematically, and presented as a grouping of inter-related persons and institutions in Diagram 83. In the following Diagram, No. 84, is also set out what might be called the proletarian twin of each social order within the Liberal-Imperial-Financial system. The Radical, Socialist and Anarchist groups are each seen to be equipped with a temporal and spiritual outfit corresponding to that of its "class" antagonist but adapted of course to the supposed interests of the masses.

The two foregoing diagrams together present systematically what has been said in the text with a certain discursiveness incidental to a multiplicity of illustrative examples. Consider the situation as we know it. On the right of the stage stand the two conventional parties of modernized politics, the Liberals and the Imperialists. Ready to support them at call are drawn up at the back of the stage, the cohorts of Finance. On the left are arranged the three insurgent groups, eyeing each other furtively, and not less ready to contend amongst themselves than to combine against "the classes." The boast from which not one of the six parties, conventional or insurgent, shrinks is that it and its working philosophy embody the modern point of view. The outsider must grant the claim of all or none. On the former supposition, the modern point of view can be clearly defined and thus vividly pourtrayed as by a six-rayed star whose illumination guides the ship of State on its predestined course. But for judging the civilization value of this modern point of view the outsider demands, of course, criteria from beyond the six-fold system. Two sources would seem to be open to him. There are survivals from past dispensations. And amongst these the civilization value of what descends to us from the best of the renaissance, the mediæval, the classical and the Hebraic

orders ranks high. There are also certain newer growths (finer and more social arts, subtler and more vital sciences) which have little appeal for Liberalism, Imperialism and Finance, and hardly more for Radicalism, Socialism and Anarchism. But all that falls beyond the scope of this *Paper*; it will be the theme of other *Papers*.

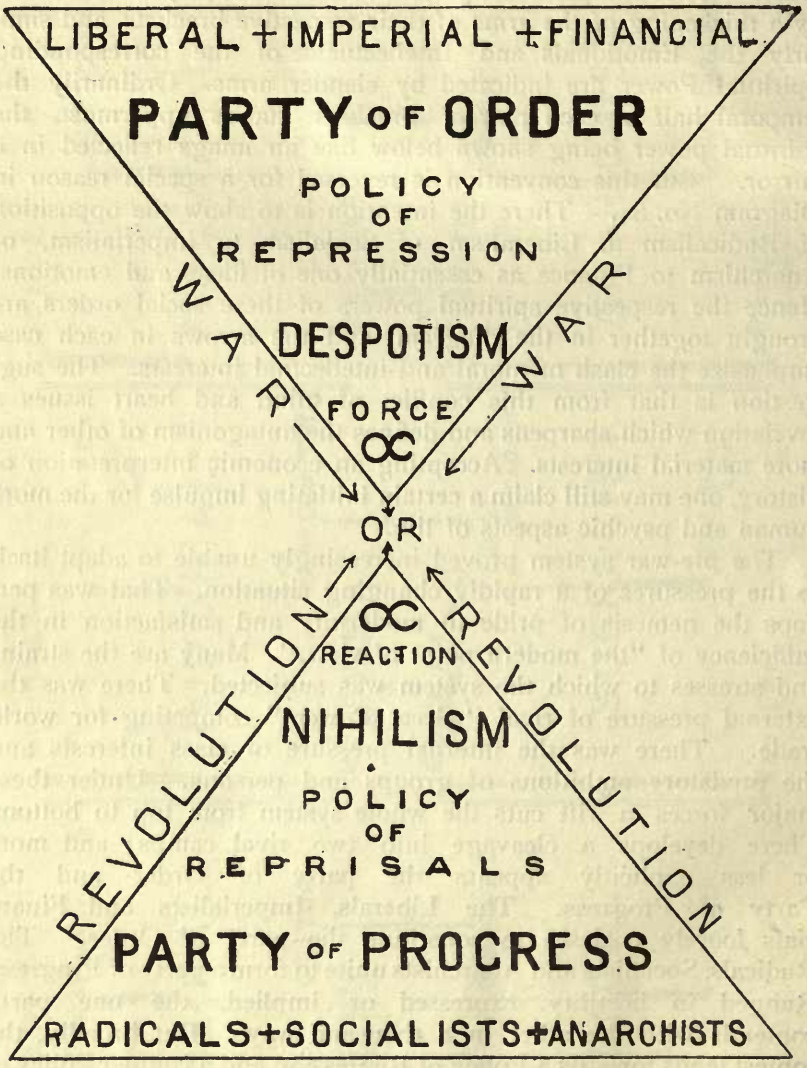


THE CONVENTIONAL PARTIES AND THEIR INSURGENT COUNTER-PARTIES (84).

As to the conventions of the diagrams a word. Each of the six social orders (three conventional and three insurgent) within the larger system is represented by a pair of brackets. A larger bracket stands for the Chiefs and the Intellectuals of each order, and a smaller one for the People and the Emotionals of the same order. The Temporal couple (Chiefs and People) are indicated by a thickening of the arms of their respective brackets, and similarly the Emotionals and Intellectuals of the corresponding Spiritual Power are indicated by slender arms. Ordinarily the temporal half of each pair of brackets stands uppermost, the spiritual power being shown below like an image reflected in a mirror. But this convention is reversed for a special reason in Diagram No. 84. There the intention is to show the opposition of Radicalism to Liberalism, of Socialism to Imperialism, of Anarchism to Finance as essentially one of ideas and emotions. Hence the respective spiritual powers of these social orders are brought together in the diagram, and the arrows in each case emphasize the clash of moral and intellectual interests. The suggestion is that from this conflict of mind and heart issues a revelation which sharpens and defines the antagonism of other and more material interests. Accepting an economic interpretation of history, one may still claim a certain initiating impulse for the more human and psychic aspects of life.

The pre-war system proved increasingly unable to adapt itself to the pressures of a rapidly changing situation. That was perhaps the nemesis of pride in modernity and satisfaction in the sufficiency of "the modern point of view." Many are the strains and stresses to which the system was subjected. There was the external pressure of rival "Great Powers" competing for world trade. There was the internal pressure of class interests and the predatory ambitions of groups and persons. Under these major forces a rift cuts the whole system from top to bottom. There develops a cleavage into two rival camps; and more or less explicitly appears the party of Order and the Party of Progress. The Liberals, Imperialists and Financials loosely coalesce to constitute the party of Order. The Radicals, Socialists and Anarchists unite to form a party of Progress. Ranged in hostility, expressed or implied, the one party contends with the other in a thousand ways. But broadly, the contest tends towards a Policy of Repression and a counter Policy of Reprisals. The logical issue of this clash is seen in a tendency to Despotism on the one side, answered by Nihilism on the other. To infinite force there is the necessary response of infinite reaction. Towards the resulting alternation of deadlock and overturn the whole system tends to drift. On the face of things there seem to be two ways of escape open. On one side the Party of Order

sees a way of escape through a "good" war, capable of uniting the whole nation against a common foe. From the standpoint of the Party of Progress the escape is through Revolution. This alternative was plainly put by the labour member of the war cabinet. It was Mr. Barnes who said :—" If we had gone on for a



THE POLITICAL DEADLOCK (85).

few years more without a war with Germany, we should have had a war with one another in this country, because the average man felt the sense of injustice as he had never felt before."

As things turned out, the respective Parties of Order in the Central Empires got the war for which they planned and worked.

The unforseen sequel was that the Parties of Progress in both of the Central Empires and in Russia also got the Revolution they had long hoped for and intermittently prepared. Are the Allies to follow the lead of their recent antagonists into the stormy sea of revolution? Surely the logic of the situation is otherwise.

Is it not now for the Allies to complete their victory in the field by a corresponding triumph in the Forum? Their temporal power having prevailed, it remains for their spiritual power to make manifest its superiority and to rise beyond the standpoint of any or all the clashing groups. May not the historic idealism of France, the common sense of England, the juristic spirit of Italy look for their reward in the discovery of the third alternative to war and revolution?

Assuredly there was and is a third alternative. Even before the war not a few discerned it with varying degrees of clearness. And in the light of the war its way should become plain to all; for in four years of Homeric strife, there has been woven on the weft of politics a revealing pattern. It shows with clearness not merely the defects of our age, but also its qualities; and so we may read therefrom the good that is in Liberalism, in Imperialism and even in Finance. It also shows how these qualities may be turned to account in the shaping of the future.

We have already recalled in a brief historic sketch the main inspirational element in English Liberalism. It was demiurgic joy in the creative energies of machine production. All that has been renewed by the war, and moreover with the enhancement of devotion to a vital and moving cause. Now it is the Imperialist, who taking him at his best, picks up, emphasises, develops the historic, the human, the collective factor, naturally a little overlooked by the Liberal manufacturer. To organise energies for communitary purpose is the prime concern of the good Imperialist. The watchword of his method is Organisation. He tries to shape the mechanical energies released by Liberalism into a worthy instrument of political power; and that at its best means the humanizing of the machine. Seen in this light, the Imperial ideal has the force of an epic. Add thereto the lyric of the Liberal ideal and there is generated an impulse of high intensity and noble purpose, as the war has abundantly shown.

In this play of heroic drama what has been the part of the financier? Well, he, taking him also at his best, is a co-ordinator of dispersive activities. He, too, is a complementary type to the Liberal. The latter demands a free stage for that subdivision of labour and specialisation of function which are the breath of the machine industry. On this free stage the financier appears as a specialist in the return movement of co-ordination. He has built up a co-ordinating mechanism of marvellous power

and delicacy. It is called the Credit System. By its working the whole resources of the Allies and to a considerable extent of friendly neutrals, were focussed on the objects of the war with a wonder-working effect.

The lesson of the war is therefore that, given opportunity of high public endeavour, and the conditions of honorific service, Liberal, Imperialist and Financier, compose into a workmanlike trio of real political efficiency. How then in the coming reconstruction to contrive from the experience of war a situation in which Liberal Manufacturer, Imperialist Administrator and Financial Magnate will stand on their best behaviour, and display their finer gestures? In the previous era of so-called peace there was some malign influence at work which seemed to evoke the defects and repress the qualities of Liberals, Imperialists and Financials alike. To the invidious task of exposing that devil's advocacy the bulk of this Paper has been devoted. A complementary analysis of redemptive and constructive elements in the war, as also of similar tendencies in the pre-war era, and a forecast and demonstration of their possible synthesis, will be the subject of two succeeding papers, entitled "Masters of our Fate," and "Eutopia or Hell." Meantime we close this Paper by sharply contrasting in a challenging fashion the parts respectively played in the Great War and in the Victorian Peace by our trio of political chiefs.

In the war the Financier, without ceasing altogether to be the Gain Chief operating on a Pawned People, was transmuted for the time being into something akin to an Accountant Chief doing service for a Credited People. The Imperialistic Chief, without altogether ceasing to be a bureaucrat arbitrarily regulating a Servile People, became an Organising Chief planning for an Organised People. The Manufacturer, without ceasing altogether to be a Profiteering Chief exploiting a Worked People, became also an Industrial Chief labouring for an Equipped People. It is true the equipment of the People was mainly with the instruments of death and destruction, but far from only so. It is true the crediting of the People was in terms of a depreciated paper currency, but still their pocket-books bulged with "John Bradburys," and there were many and excellent things to be purchased, from pianos to jewellery that made for the quickening of life. It is true the organising was for war, but still a war of noble purpose.

The problem of the third alternative is to escape alike the Scylla of War and the Charybdis of Revolution by boldly steering for a peace which contains within itself the "moral equivalents of war." We have to find the formula of a peace that is not the negative thing, the mere War-Peace of the Victorian era, but is something positive, charged to complete the process of conversion begun in war, by carrying the ferment of idealism on into a

peace-war, a "holy" war, constructive, evocatory, militant, yet also campaigning ruthlessly against diseases, poverties, ignorances, follies, vices, crimes. How, in other words, organise a society of such high-power intensity as to effect the transmutation of Gain Chiefs and a Pawned People into Accountant Chiefs and a Credited People, of War Chiefs and a Warred People, into Organising Chiefs and an Organised People, of Profiteering Chiefs and an Exploited People into Industrial Chiefs and an Equipped People. All this, it may be said, is just what the Radicals, Socialists and Anarchists, taking them at their best, are and were "out for." Granted. But our contention is that this sort of social transmutation, being essentially psychic, *i.e.*, religious, it follows that a spiritual power of wider resource, deeper reach and loftier appeal, is needed than fell within the ken of Radicals, Socialists and Anarchists in their pre-war phase. That they also, like the countering trio, have moved onwards and upwards through the experience of the war is doubtless to be assumed and hopefully reckoned on. In any case one must recognise the valid element in the revolutionary ideal, as also in the appeal of war. The two are strangely alike, being in each case an enhancement of life by drama that runs on the edge of tragedy. It is the absence of any such inspiration that condemns to futility the piecemeal procedure called Social Reform. Because it is piecemeal and consequently lacking in vision of the whole, this stodgy method leaves the masses of the people cold, however tragic the fate of the reformer. The third alternative to War and Revolution is not Reform. It is something nearer akin to what the religious call Conversion. That holds vision of life more abundant and also promise of heroic drama. The new heaven calls for attainment by strenuous action; the old hell has to be resolutely escaped from. Now the peoples of Europe have been through the old hell; they are eager to be shown the new heaven. It must be no facile Utopia of outworn doctrine; it must be vision of a City of God that can be built with human hands. And the design of its plans we may call Eutopia,[1] which is the opposite of Utopia, since the latter refers to no place and the former to every place that can be made good to live and work in, beautiful to see, and all in the here and now.

The quest of this third alternative, if it is to be successful at home must be pursued also and simultaneously abroad. In the paradise below as in the heaven above many mansions are needed if all ranks and classes are to be moved to attainment and all nations, creeds and races drawn to it as to a goal. The oneness in manifoldness of western civilisation implies fullest and widest

1. See the "Coming Polity," Part I, Introduction, and Part III, Chaps. i and iii. 2nd edition. (Williams and Norgate). Also *Papers for the Present*, No. 8. "A Rustic View of War and Peace." (Headley Bros.).

co-operation. The diversity of Europe ensured by geography and the unity of Europe ensured by history cannot be cast out by the respective pitchforks of levelling internationalism and dishevelling nationalism. There is needed for the full orchestration of occidental resources on the problem of a militant peace the traditional compromise of England, the logic and imagination of France, the genius of Italy, the fervour of Russia, the initiative of the small nations, and also the militancy of America. Nor can we dispense with the organizing power of a penitent Germany. And similarly, no solution is possible, no way through the impasse will be found, unless the other co-operants also undergo purgation. We need for a real Society of Nations an awakened England, a purified France, a forelooking Italy, a reasonable Russia, and also a sobered America.

War as we now know it by actual sample is no mystical monster that descends upon us out of the unknown. Modern war has been unveiled as a state of mental stress that overtakes industrial societies intent on pitiless competition. In the rebound there ensues a mood of exaltation, with its crop of magnanimities, generosities, heroisms. Amongst the more unconventional audacities thus liberated is an impulse to place the energies of the warring societies at the disposal of their chemists, physicists, engineers, chartered accountants. Suppose now these chemists, physicists, engineers, chartered accountants having come into the public service be persuaded to remain there, or at least to re-enter it, but under other direction than that either of military bureaucrat or utilitarian politician. There are available for this higher statesmanship Rural Planners like Horace Plunkett, and Educationists like Baden Powell and Margaret Macmillan. There is also, in John Burns, even a personage of Cabinet rank who has taken the pains to acquire the art of Town-Planning. These are but exemplary names chosen from the seniors. Amongst juniors of both sexes there is a growing body, but half used or unused, of first-rate competence in Rural Economy, in Civic Economy and in the Life Economies we call Health, Education, Public Art. Here are real economies of Home, Village, City, returning each with its sheaf of high utilities to replace the phantoms of the Market, and all their foul brood idolized by the bastard science, Political Economy, and the spurious philosophy, Utilitarianism. The possible co-ordination of these high utilities and vital economies may safely be assumed with religion on one side and domestic economy on the other. For the churches, if true to their primary and essential purpose, evoke a spiritual activity which is the highest utility of life, and therefore its truest economy. While as for domestic economy, it remains committed to an expanding vision of life so long as motherhood lasts in the world.

By an edict of poetic justice the Victorian society of low utilities has been shattered in a thunderclap of high explosives. Is it extravagant beyond hope to suppose a day will come when these men and women of the post-utilitarian school will share to the full in the guidance and inspiration of public life and so help to determine the course of business and the modes of private life? When that day comes a peace will break out that leads towards Eutopia. Like other conquests, Eutopia must of course be won by definitely planned campaigns, that proceed region by region, city by city. For the tactics and strategy of this campaigning, it is true the General Staff has yet to be created. But let us not forget that there are those who can, if they will, set men's hearts ablaze with passion for these enhancements of life and betterments of environment, that will signalize real peace. These are our singers, painters, sculptors, musicians, poets, story-tellers, dramatists.

What career was open to all these ministrants of the Muses in a utilitarian society animated by ruthless competition at home and predatory rivalry abroad? It was the ill fate of such a society to drive its Parnassians, with few exceptions, into unemployment or revolt, unless they cultivated their muse within the confinement of a coterie, hired themselves out to the profiteer, or gilded the book of life for the rich. No wonder then that in the Victorian "Peace" men were allured to the discovery that drink was the shortest way out of Manchester. But with the quickening of war came the revelation that poetry was the shortest way out of the Trenches, and so a real utility of life, and accordingly a true economy also.

The social implication of these two cardinal truths is plain. There are nine muses and they do not all of them prompt us to flee from the repulsive. On the contrary, they far more often inspire us to transmute it into what the heart desireth. And in this alchemy lies a main secret of the higher economy. So the journey to Eutopia may start wherever there is beauty to be won from ashes, truth from ignorances and falsities, ideals from temptations and debasements. Thus in the financial city its points of departure would naturally be the Dosshouse and the Hospital; in the Imperial city, the Tenement and the Barrack, the School and the Tavern; in the Liberal-mechanical city, the Factory and the Slum, the Caucus and the Bar. Similarly, in the homes of Philistia the Eutopian itinerary might becomingly commence in the basement kitchen. Let the Lady of the house restore to their rightful and original place the decorative furnishings of the kitchen looted by her ancestress to adorn the drawing-room. But would such restitutions be sufficient to reinvoke the fairy godmother of the kitchen-maid? Hardly. The Muses must attend all the way; but other guidances, inspirations, and encouragements are also requisite, for

a pilgrimage planned to go right through from our modern inferno into a purgatory of transition and onwards to the fair cities of the earthly paradise.

Man being what he is, a creature swaying between dull habits of animal fixity and curious dreams that shape strange deeds, there is one, and only one, possible source whence can issue the plenary inspiration, the flaming ideal, the sustaining impulse for changing from the Victorian Peace to a militant one. This must spring from the concerted activity of our poets, painters, sculptors, architects, singers, musicians, dramatists, novelists. If through this, its natural channel, the Eutopian vision were to touch the life of the People, then would these be moved to work for its realization, and with a quickening of energies undreamed by philistine profiteers and dismal trade-unionists. In the great days of its past unity the Christian Church tried to organize this inspiring co-partnership of Emotionals and People; and in no small degree succeeded. Whether or not that historic mission can be renewed, assuredly there will arise, later or sooner, a Spiritual Power adapted to this creative purpose. In the resulting social transformation, the economic movement would run harmoniously with the political, and both together would make the framework of a drama-action, or Peace-game (friedenspiel) retaining the qualities and avoiding the defects of the War-game (kriegspiel). The central and abiding motive of the play would be the ineluctable effort to identify personal career that is income-yielding with public service that is honorific. The "governing classes" having practically attained that end, does not the postulate of evolution compel a working faith in its extension to other classes? As soon as dignity and security were assured to all willing and competent workers, then real wages would rise without any necessary increase in money wages. Similarly, remuneration for management and direction being partly in terms of honour, the money charges for these costly services could be reduced. A still greater economy could be effected by a well-devised national insurance to cover the risks of enterprise, for then the return to capital would naturally be adjusted to that fine point at which "the reward of thrift" just overbalances the impulse to spend. By bold but judicious experiment along these lines, there would grow up a society in which the industrial system, with its whole outfit of national resources was increasingly treated as a Great Game played between Man and Nature; politics very similarly viewed, partly as a system of stage regulations for the technic drama, partly as an adventure in the corresponding social ethic. Is it not a fact of observation that so long as the driving force of war lasted, we were actually and visibly moving towards such a social goal? Well then, given a national community, definitely and continuously during a full generation, animated by these aims and oriented to this outlook, many major adjustments would emerge without undue friction. Thus, for instance, there

could readily be provided for the Chiefs of the Financial, Imperial and Liberal-mechanical Orders, the more honourable and abstemious parts for which, not unwillingly, they underwent a certain rehearsal during the war. And the Intellectuals, what of their part? Theirs would be the humble rôle of investigating ways and means; estimating resources, physical, vital, social, and studying their economy; but also it would fall to them to create the Staff Office, and train the Chiefs, perhaps even to organize their selection from the community at large.

The problem before us is nothing less than this: given the débris of spiritual powers surviving from the past; given a certain capacity to renew the original fertility of these past systems; given also the budding growths of nascent spiritual powers; how from this opulent tangle of wheat and tares distil a doctrine and fashion an oriflamme for the new times? There is, of course, a corresponding task simultaneously to be undertaken by judicious experimentation. It is the renewal of life individual, domestic, civic, national, international, and all under impulse and direction of the Spirit Creative. Here, in the achievement of this task and the solution of that problem, is the grand adventure that awaits the coming generation. As it invests in this enterprise the enthusiasms of its youth, the energies of its manhood and womanhood, the thought of its aged, so will the coming generation advance along the road to Eutopia.

APPENDIX.

Lantern Slides.

1. Jeremy Bentham and Robert Burns.
2. Samuel Smiles.
3. Herbert Spencer.
3a. A modern utilitarian and an ancient theorist.
4. Adam Smith.
5. Statue of James Watt in Westminster Abbey.
5a. A typical Factory.
6. Watt's engine and Bolton's Factory where the first workable engine was made.
7. Spinning woman.
8. Spinster of 18th century.
9. Hargreaves' Spinning Jenny.
10. Spinning Factory.
11. Arkwright.
12. His steam Factory.
13. The Manchester Cotton Exchange.
14. Weaving Factory and Calico printing.
14a. Fine fabrics.
15. Blake's "Pitt guiding Behemoth."
16. The first Sir Robert Peel and W. E. Gladstone.
16a. A Japanese view of the strike.
16b. Cobden and Bright.
17. The Crystal Palace.
18. Gateway, Euston Station.
18a. (*a*) Frith's "Paddington Station."
(*b*) Cannon Street Station, as "Smoke Hall."
19. David Ricardo.
20. Stock Broker's Offices.
20a. Jupiter Capitalinus and his Temple.
21. Rembrandt's "Jesus expelling the Money Changers from the Temple."
22. The Stock Exchange: interior.
23. Interior: St. Paul's.
24. Karl Marx.
25. Scenes in the East End of London.
26. Scenes of gaiety in the East End.
27. The transit of goods through "the City."
28. London Clearing House.
29. The Banker and his capital.
30. "The lady's" performance of Leisure.
31. The Clubman and his daily round.
32. West End Clubs and Map of Clubland.
33. House of Commons.
34. Parliamentary Lobby.
36. Interior Scenes, House of Commons.
37. (*a*) Effect of Division Bell in the Smoking Room.
(*b*) M.P.'s going home.
38. The Capitol, Washington.
39. Houses of Parliament, Berlin, Vienna, Buda Pesth.
40. Houses of Parliament, with Westminster Abbey in the background.
41. India Office.
42. (*a*) Sale Room of East India Company.
(*b*) Trading Fort.
43. Colonial Office.
44. Local Government Board.
45. Turret of Local Government Board Office, seen through the arch of fountain.
46. Profile of Whitehall towards St. James' Park
47. War Office.
48. Wireless Installation of Admiralty.
49. Maritime Provinces of the British Empire.
50. Pitt and Napoleon.
51. Disraeli's Statue on Primrose Day.
52. Seeley and Kipling.
53. Lord Cromer.
54. "John Bull."
55. Rear View of a Modern Theatre.
56. Theatrical Machinery with inset of Greek Theatre.
57. Theatrical Poster.
58. Music Hall Poster.
59. Tenements in Westminster, with Public House at street corner.

60. (*a*) Provisioning of a Dreadnought.
(*b*) Barracks in Westminster.
61. (*a*) Scenes in school playgrounds.
(*b*) Mother of absentee child in Magistrates' Court.
62. Mr. Punch on struggle of the Clerical Groups for the School Child.
63. "Liberty and Privilege," from "New York Life."
63a. Richard West's "The Frown" and "The Dame's School."
64. The Learning of the Schools.
65. Karl Marx and Bismarck.
66. Hobbes.
67. Title Page of the "Leviathan."
67a. Watts' Mammon.
67b. Moloch.
67c. The Car of State.
68. Bismarck's statue before the Reichstag.
69. Hegel's statue in Hegel Platz.
70. Statues from Sieges Allée.
70a. Tenements in Berlin.
70b. Barracks in Berlin.
71. Kropotkin.
72. Syndicalist postcard.
73. Placard of Guild Socialism.
73a. The Goliath of Big Business and the Anarchist David.
73b. The light that failed.
74. Advertisements :—
(*a*) Facile Princeps cigarettes.
(*b*) Messrs. Bolus' Purple Pills.
(*c*) New Façade of Oriel College, Oxford.
(*d*) House front used for advertisement.
74a. Statues on St. Mary's Porch, Oxford, and on Oriel front.
75. A Story in Déshabille.
76. Sundry advertisements.
77. Sir Tono Bungay.
78. Syndicalist meeting on Tower Hill.
79. "Punch" Cartoon on Government Profiteering.
80. (*a*) Interior of Doss House.
(*b*) Outcasts on Thames Embankment.
(*c*) Lunatic Asylum.
81. Two London Hospitals.
82. War Bonds advertisement.
83. The Liberal—Imperial—Financial Order.
84. The Conventional Parties and their Insurgent Counter-parties.
85. War or Revolution.

THE WAR-MIND, THE BUSINESS-MIND AND A THIRD ALTERNATIVE.

Introductory Note.

In the study of what has been popularly called "war-mind" we seek to observe facts and still more we try to discover situations in which impulse and expression are both discernible. What, to begin with, it may be asked, are the types of emotional and intellectual reaction manifested. in a society absorbed by the anxieties, efforts, hopes, fears of an internecine struggle for existence? In short, the primary problem may be stated as the psychology of marginal survival. In so far as characteristic traits, generated in a society thrown for a moment sheer on to the margin of survival, get fixed as mental habits, presumably "the war-mind" develops. Subsequent persistence, modification or loss of these mental habits in after-war time, have also to be investigated

Important doubtless, both as to impulses and habits, is the distinction between combatants and non-combatants; and, further, between the more or less loose coherence of non-combatant groups on the one hand, and on the other the intimate incorporation of combatants into organized bodies (*i.e.* companies, regiments and armies), of long-established tradition and definite orientation towards the tasks, risks, opportunities of war.

It is to be remarked that some observers of "the war-mind" (notably *e.g.* Romain Rolland in his book, *Liluli*) emphasize its defects as the most impulsive of illusions; while others have discovered in its qualities the basis of a transcendent coming-together of all classes in a "sacred union." Hence two schools of thought tend to appear. One of them observes and analyses the reversions to barbarism and savagery through recrudescence of the animalism of "herd instincts," and through perversion of the moral sentiments by habitual recourse to violence, theft, lying, deceit, chicane. The other school emphasizes the traits which evoke co-operant enthusiasm, heroism, self-sacrifice and the energizing of groups or individuals to higher potential than is customary in ordinary times of peace. The former school, in a word, sees war as degrading and repressing life; the latter sees it as enhancing life and raising its voltage by introducing on a grand scale certain elements of psychic arousal which in ordinary situations (social, economic and political) are inconspicuous, absent or latent.

To the first school the war-mind is passive in the grip of circumstances that inhibit the higher manifestations of human life or pervert them, simultaneously re-awakening and stimulating the lower manifestations. To the second school the war-mind is active and effervescent in response to opportunities afforded by those dramatic manifestations of life which evoke its high latencies. Given this scope for creative effort (argues this school), the mind is not only released from customary inhibitions and habits of routine; but further impassioned to high purpose and demiurgic activity.

May not both schools find common ground in searching out and studying situations of peace-time which call for the elements of the war-mind, both as to qualities and defects? Obvious instances of both are not far to seek. If lifeboat rescue and fire brigade salvage be counted as espisodal examples, yet may not the ordinary

combating of disease by doctors and nurses, and of moral evils by priests and reformers be reckoned as illustrations which are in the run of custom? Is not the boy scout movement an endeavour to devise an education which combines and normalises into abiding habit, both the heroism of courage and the altruism of conscience? And if so, how far may the prodigious growth of this movement and its admitted successes be cited in evidence by the meliorist interpreters of the war-mind?

Again, take the defects of the war-mind as exemplified in peace-time. Are not these defects copiously illustrated in the records of crime and vice, the chronicles of folly, the accounts of insanity, and, above all, in the accumulating data of Freudian analysis? And if all such reversions and perversions be exceptional in fact, are they not, from the very nature of the case, symptomatic of the communities in which they germinate? Whatever else these evils be, are they not the flotsam and jetsam of communities embarked on a sea that is in process of being more thoroughly charted? The course of such communities being mapped, do we not see them, since the Industrial Revolution, committed whole-heartedly to a *régime* of competitive industry, and, since the Renaissance, given unreservedly to emulative social practice, in short to a kind of war.

For deeper truths the burden is on the shoulders of Sociology in so far as true that mind is a social phenomenon. Has not the central movement amongst psychologists themselves long been running in this direction? Do not their advanced workers find themselves to-day well within the sociological field? Their most recent school describes and explains mind in terms of "collective representations." But that, it may be said, is a way of speaking which raises more questions than it answers. Doubtless; but may not the chief use of introducing phrasing that is specifically social be its implicit invitation to a wider co-operation in the investigation and research of mental problems. Does it not help, for instance, to bring into the discussion much needed aid from the resources of literature and religion hitherto so little tapped for modern science? Is it not indeed the fact that the practitioners of literature, poetry, drama are the real and essential vitalists of the psychological and social field? While, as for the theologians, does not their ancient formulation about the individual mind as an emanation of the divine mind bear a certain genetic resemblance to the "collective representations" of the newest social-psychologists?

If the above assumptions are verifiable, then how far may we draw certain deductions? First, that the war-mind exhibits with the vivid outline of a diagrammatic object lesson, the tendencies and habits of the modern mind as it works in current western civilization. Second, that such a mind displays a twofold mode of interaction with its milieu; now passively recipient to environment and tradition, now impelled to mastery by the springs of vision. Is it not this tendency to an alternating sequence of negative and positive phases (as it were, the night and day of our inner world) which supplies the vital data of literature and religion? Do not the practitioners of these arts and disciplines of life see such mental phases crystallizing into habits, which in turn dissolve in a ferment of change and again recrystallize into new habits?

For that cycle of periodic movement, a phrasing is needed in correspondence with the terminology of current psychology. May we not follow the practice, growing since the days of Hume, of describing the working of the mind in terms of habit; and declare that the normal tendency of the mind is towards Habituation, Dehabituation, Rehabituation? Yet, for the psychologist to say that, is little more than to affirm that the mind ties, unties, and reties knots in the reins of life. It tells us nothing intimate about the rider and his steed, and their origin and destination.

Yet this at any rate may be affirmed, that in studying the social process by means of "collective representations" no great difficulty need be experienced in discriminating between the objective and subjective aspects of a situation. And that is all to the good in a field where confusion between objective and subjective is a common error, leading to premature abstractions and then the mistaking of these for concrete reality. That is a danger into which the student may the more easily fall in using phrases like the war-mind, the social-mind, the group-mind, since these carry the burden of a highly abstract tradition. They are lineal descendants of still more abstract conceptions such as "the collective will" which survive in the books of political philosophy. Without letting go anything useful to be gleaned in this field, we may yet ask whether a more hopeful approach does not lie through the school of "collective representations." That phrase will, to many, sound little attractive and still less hopeful of objective result. But in this paper we propose to give it a trial.

I.—The War-Mind.

For a convenient point of origin and departure of the war-mind let us select the "collective representations" of a music-hall 'poster'[1] that spoke to us from the hoardings for a whole year or more during the war (1). It exhibited a scantily-draped young woman suddenly released as a Jack-in-the-box and demonstrating her liberation from captivity by kicking at large. For this sort of thing, the word "exhalation" (rising from our social milieu like fetid air from bog and swamp) might be preferred by those who dislike the phrase "collective representations"! However that may be, it is a fact that a theatrical poster offers a sample of goods known by trade experience to be attractive to the pleasure-seeking public. This specimen then, like others, has to be interpreted as a symbol of deep-seated tendencies in the public mind. What tendencies? Well, suppose the kicking elf to be herself the very spirit of revolt against the repressions imposed on human life by the dreariness, ugliness, inhibitions of the Industrial Age. To whole masses of the people existing uneasily under that drab dispensation the war came as the opening of its door to a caged animal. Repressed instincts of life and curbed energies of purpose found vent in many strange gestures of suddenly released vitality. They took form now in a cult of naughtiness and rebellion; again in dignified, heroic service. Remarkable transformations resulted. The frowsy flower-girl of Piccadilly Circus gave place, for instance, to the bright daughter of Demeter depicted in that poster which announced a French 'flag-day' in London in 1917 (2). Again,

1. For list of these posters and pictures see Appendix to this paper. The numbers in the text refer to corresponding numbers in the Appendix list. The whole set of posters and pictures have been put together in a portfolio of moderate size which can be borrowed for temporary use by study-groups and discussion circles.

note how Hodge and his conjugal drudge were transmuted into the hero-in-khaki and the neo-matriarch, as a recruiting poster for the land-girl army truly set forth (3). But all these and others awakened to high ministry by the call of war, needed also their hours of relaxation. And so, a poster of the Underground Railway reminds us that the pleasure-booths of Vanity Fair were crowded as never before (4). How otherwise indeed, than by following the leisure-class habits of the Victorian Peace could be expended the high wages and the excess profits of that Titanic manufacture and discharge of munitions which proved to be an amazingly lucrative national industry?

Observe next the æsthetic reactions of the war-mind. In general you see that the Art modes of the Industrial Age were repeated and continued, but in intensified and exaggerated ways. As before, the bulk of art patrons preferred the more sentimental forms; but during the war these patrons became legion in number. Witness the story-magazines and books of cheap fiction whose pictorial covers made the bookstalls into a blaze of amatory romance (4a). Amongst posters doubtless not the least successful in extracting war-savings was the triplet of chubby faces, excellently reproduced from a popular Italian painting (5). From the art of the sentimental you may pass to the Baby-week poster of vulgar inanities (6), or of crude symbolism (7); or you may descend to those early recruiting posters which called upon youths "to be in at the final," or bade young women to despatch to the front "their best boy." Or again you may ascend to the great art exhibited on the hoardings in tens of thousands in the admirably executed Whistler's "Portrait of his Mother" (8). The popularisation of this masterpiece first as a poster and next as a cheap reproduction (which happily omitted the impertinent phrase added to the poster) was surely an evidence that war intensifies at least some of the higher no less than the lower potencies of the mind. It is not difficult to discover other examples of "collective representation" which expressed this revealing and exalting quality of War. The "Soldiers' and Sailors' Map of London" is perhaps as remarkable a specimen as any (9). Where else will you find so clear, vivid, simple and withal beautifully executed a presentation of essentials extracted from the foggy labyrinth of the metropolis and put together again to form a map which is also a picture? And forget not that this feat of combined art and science was thought out and wrought under no impulse of opulent patronage but in the service of the common-folk turned soldiers and sailors.

How now sum up this analysis of the war-mind as disclosed in our selection of pictorial presentations and representations? War we observe awakens the spirit and intensifies existence, so that

people act with less restraint in response both to lower and higher impulses. For evil and for good, war suspends alike the Freudian censorship and the Philistine code of inhibitions. Liberated by war, the human psyche makes a flight, in which pre-war habits and dispositions rise to their natural zenith or fall to their proper nadir. By this revealing quality war exposes with merciless clarity, and shows with diagrammatic precision, just what was the character of the preceding age, its type of civilization, its real nature and latent purpose, its qualities and defects. The competitive society of the Industrial Age came to its full flowering in the world war. Two generations almost to a day after Queen Victoria had performed an opening ritual for the National Palace of Industrial Arts, that was to be also an International Temple of Peace, her grandson dedicated the very same edifice to the show-cases of the Military Arts and the symbols of International Rivalry (9a). The Crystal Palace, being now transformed into a War Muesum, has thus become a comprehensive monument of the Industrial Age because so fully symbolizing its spirit.

II.—The After-War Mind Towards "Business as Usual."

If then the war-mind be but the logical issue of the pre-war mind, what of the after-war mind? For answer let us again apply the objective method and try to interpret the meaning and purport of some pictorial samples of current "collective representations." Advertisements of goods for sale remind us that the strong arm of labour returns, after the war, to its work in the forges and factories, the fields and the mines (10). The muscles perhaps are a trifle weary and the nerves a little shaken after the efforts and excitements of battle. Somewhat less than habitual, therefore, is the labourers' response to the call of the "directing classes" for greater output. Now these latter happen to be also the "leisure classes." And how they have returned with added zest to their customary assiduity in the "performance of leisure" we have ample evidence from the illustrated papers as well as from posters and advertisements (11).

Of that social couple known to sociologists as the "People and the Chiefs of the Temporal Power" we thus see the former returning with some reluctance to pre-war ways and the latter with eagerness. Examine now the other elements of this social situation. The corresponding pair of the congruent "Spiritual Power" have their sociological titles in the somewhat ambiguous words "Intellectuals" and "Emotionals." Of the former, many as in pre-war days meditate in well-upholstered armchairs (12); and amongst the latter not a few contrive to seek "life abundant" by frolicking with Pan (13). The inference would appear to be that the post-war mind, like a dog returning to its vomit, resumes the

habits which were modified and in some cases abandoned or even reversed under the stress of danger. But recurrence to pre-war habits is made impossible for many by the sequel of misfortune. In the ruined areas, for instance, men and still more, perhaps, women continue to wander in the Hades of war's devastation (13a). Against this winter of desolation, which threatened all the belligerent nations while the fighting lasted, there is a natural rebound amongst all classes into the gaieties of "Summer in Arcady" (13b). Released from fear, life calls for personal adornments; and so the mills of Lancashire boom, through demand for variety of woman's garments if not for their individual abundance. A prodigious pictorial advertisement of the daily press, doubtless with an eye to finance, proclaims the industrial vigour of Lancashire by a soot pall whose density suggests continuous working shifts throughout the twenty-four hours. This advertisement proudly bore the title, "Master Creations of Cotton Land" (13c). The makers and the salesmen, and still more the financiers of these and other "master creations," crowd the pleasure resorts at home and abroad (13d). They, with their women-folk, constitute a host of new converts to the eighteenth century doctrine that war is good for trade.

Is more subtle evidence needed of the swing back to 1914 and moreover along a larger arc? If so, observe the thoughts and the doings of the ladies of Paris, for what these leaders of fashion think and do to-day the women of the world at large are apt to think and do to-morrow. Nowhere perhaps is there a more influential source of "collective representations" than the ateliers of French modistes. Regard then a picture from that journal which it is said more than all others captivated the minds of English officers in our armies on the continent (14). You see two ladies of 1920 loaded with the trophies, in fur and feather, of the hunter's squaw. Poised uncertainly on the highest of heels in the tiniest of shoes, they stand before an exhibition case in the Museum of Historic Costumes contemplating the vagaries of fashion in times past; says the lady of 1920: "How silly, to bedizen one's self in that sort of way"! to which remark the manikins in their cases, stirred from their slumbers of centuries by the quaint spectacle of the two living dolls, reply "How true, indeed."

The crop of English versions of *La Vie Parisienne* which repeat the dubious innuendos of the original without its satire, is perhaps to be interpreted not only as manifesting the follies of the post-war mind, but also its instinctive search for a more vital way of life than that of the Victorian Peace (14a). Filled again are the old avenues of escape from the outer dreariness of industrial towns and the inner repressions of their educations, philosophies, religions. And, since the war, more eager than ever the quest of what is imagined

to be life abundant. More crowded are the racecourses, football grounds, boxing rings, golf courses, more in vogue the chambers of the mystery-mongers and the dancing saloons, busier the stock-brokers and turf accountants, more audacious the cult of the fleshly. But it is only yesterday that Death lurked at every corner, so escape has imparted to well nigh everyone something of the zest of youth for life's sweet fruits, yet with a lingering taste of the bitter (14b).

A community emerging from war enjoys the stimulus of release from fear. But it also suffers the loss of moral momentum given by a common end uniting the whole nation. Under that deprivation, groups and individuals lapse into the pre-war state of loose ends and cross purposes that accompany the individual struggle for existence. And though "Imperial policy" be more potent than ever, so also is its antagonist and complement, proletarian socialism. And in any event both these ends even at their strongest are to war but as burnt thread to steel wire for general binding power. Thus the return of peace opens the floodgates of reversions and even perversions. Is it too much to say that in the two years following the war we have witnessed a renewal of the old scramble for gain, but inflamed by post-war extravagance; the old commerce of sordid impulse but coarsened by war's brutalities; the old politics of chicane but emboldened by war's frauds and falsities? Previously there was a host of movements organised and spontaneous, directed to the replacing of these lower separatisms by higher unisons. What has become of these meliorist endeavours? Some have failed to survive the war; yet others have been strengthened and new ones are emerging. Over against English imitations of *La Vie Parisienne* we may place the new journals devoted to the making and adornment of Homes (15). Over against the advertisement of Cotton-Land's master creations put the announcement of the exhibition called "Beautiful Richmond, Past, Present and Possible"; for this was but a sample and manifesting of forces fermenting everywhere (15a). It was an endeavour, very largely by women, to maintain the moral awakening of the war and direct it to the common end of civic ennoblement and local betterment. The makers of this "Beautiful Richmond" Exhibition launched a campaign for introducing into the mind of the local community a well-planned set of "collective representations" of a very different kind from those of the post-war business mind. They offered for civic application not the ambitions of the hunter and the cravings of his squaw, but the modes and ideals of town-planner, gardener and housewife, in all of whom the sociologist discovers something of the soil-rooted peasant. Yet the Exhibition itself was but a display of resources and a rehearsal of groupings in that sequence of larger and smaller moves which soldiers call

strategy and tactics. The general objective might be defined as a Civic Economy based on the traditional domestic economy of order and beauty. And similar campaigns being actual or incipient in many places, does there not come into view a national end or common objective of high intensity which as it grows conscious of its purpose may acquire the character of a moral equivalent of war? Here then are efforts, however modest and sporadic, to replace the abstractions of political economy by the realities of civic economy, and to substitute for the politics of centralised power a comity of militant city-regions. Yet it would obviously be rash to assume the conscious beginning of an ordered march towards a polity charged with the qualities of war but free of its defects. The current spectacle of public life even suggests something more resembling a gaderene flight in the opposite direction. Openly in the places of business, obscurely behind the scenes of politics, vividly in the pages of "Punch," may be seen the Profiteer, swollen and exalted by the gains of war (16). With his accumulators refilled and his voltage raised in potential he is engaged (through the press and other vendible sources of "collective representations") in charging the batteries, if not of the war-mind, yet of the war-ward mind. Between this master of cunning and his sworn foe the Bolshevik (taking the latter as his critics see him) gloomy indeed would seem to be the prospect of the western world (16).

III.—A Third Alternative.

It is announced (July, 1920) by the Carpenters' Union that over 50,000 of their men are engaged on aerodromes, cinemas, hotels, factories, garages, banks, castles and great shops—most of the latter doubtless for display and sale of sex adornments. Upon the simultaneous building of workmen's houses and all other construction the number of carpenters at work is declared to be something less than 10,000. Now. counting as within the cult of Business and Super-business, not only those who have arrived, but also those on the way, and the timid who fear to start, it is probably fair to reckon the power of this Great Interest, as against all minor ones (*i.e.* religion, art, literature, science, education, domestic economy) at the ratio gauged by the carpenters, *i.e.* of 5 to 1. On the other side of the balance the thunders of political socialism and the wails of socialistic bureaucracy are loud but light in weight. Yet on closer inspection cannot there be found a Third Alternative to Super-business and Socialism?

Where then must we look for more hopeful initiatives? Search has to be made not only amongst the tender shoots of new cultures, but also through the dried seeds of old faiths and even their

decomposing fruits; for let us remember alike the possibilities of rejunivenescence and the prospects of cross-fertilization. Amidst all this fermentation of after-war minds, surely there are discoverable at least the beginnings of a social order capable of amending to finer proportions the present rating of Business as against the Housing of the People, combined with the totality of moral, mental and æsthetic interests. But in this paper, exploration must needs be limited, and though partisanship be avoided, yet partiality is less easily escaped.

Think for instance of the profiteer's children. Conceive the sort of "collective representations" which, during the coming generation, will go to the making of *their* minds. How many of these children, but for the war, would have grown up in the purlieus of Whitechapel! Thanks, however, to the cunning with which their fathers handled the world crisis, they reside to-day, not unlikely, in a spacious mansion overlooking Hampstead Heath. Now the posters of the Hampstead Tube show us vividly what it means for children to taste the joys of life under a canopy of blue sky, amid the heath, bracken and pines of wild nature (17). True the well-devised curricula of schools and colleges endowed by former profiteers and financiers, or supported by present ones, will do their best to correct childhood's early impressions of blue heaven and wild nature. In order to clean the slate of childhood's mind for the right kind of "collective representations" do not the schools keep their pupils caged and imprisoned during the long days of summer, and release them only during the waning days of an oncoming autumn? Into the chambers of the child-mind thus swept if not garnished, the industrious schoolmaster introduces the worn furniture of archaic learning, thus making ready for the ghostly visitors who convey "literature and history" to the adult mind (17a). But the dessicating practises of the higher educational institutions are now, since the war, and in the light thereof, being challenged even by trading corporations, supposed to be without soul. The Managers of the Great Western Railway, for instance, speaking from the hoardings, recall to us the eternal verity that the glorious days of June are the occasion provided by nature for filling our minds with the splendour and the pageantry of sea and sky (18).

Think next of the press, itself not the least, perhaps even the most powerful, of all the batteries that charge our minds with collective representations. A French phrase pays half ironic homage to the great dailies which are the chief guides of our inner life, denominating them the "Grand Press." Their mode of working is alternatively that of the electrician and the gardener. In the former rôle they stir us now with the mild thrills of an intermittent current, again by the terrific shocks of high voltage. In

the gentle rôle of the gardener they implant daily in our minds the choice seeds of suggestion. In subtle ways do they not hint that all will go well with the world if only we re-enthrone those gods of the Manchester Pantheon, Demand and Supply? But is it not to be read in the current working of the post-war mind as manifested in the daily price lists of necessaries that these gods too easily change into the demons of profiteering and chicane? But even the "grand press" is open to suggestions of a better way of life, if not in its news pages and its leading articles, yet in its advertising columns. And so, by the picture and argument of advertisement, are conveyed to us the collective representations of a small group of tender women appealing for succour to the children of devastated or impoverished lands (19).

A similar contest for the fashioning of post-war minds proceeds on all sides. In further evidence note that against the Goliath of the Illustrated Press directing the skilled artistry of Vanity Fair (20, 21) in an endeavour to make us forget the dead, is pitted the David of the League of Nations Union, using the hoardings to recall to us the message of fallen heroes (22).

IV.—The Reawakening of the Modern Mind.

From a modest collection of posters and pictures, chosen almost at random and therefore all the more significant as evidence of prevailing sentiments and ideas, we have deciphered some of the formative elements of the war-mind and the after-war mind. Amongst the factors that go to the composing of our inner life and so to the determining of conduct and the directing of action in these times, we have discerned some half-dozen major sources of collective representation. They are the memory of the dead, the tenderness of woman, the joy of children, the cunning of man, and behind, above and below these human impulses, the cosmic forces inherent in the pageantry of nature and the wonder of the world. But are not these the very things which in the long evolution of man have, more than aught else, gone to the making of mind itself? That is assumed as a fair epitome of what science has to say about the genesis of mind. The resulting thesis is twofold. First that through the experience of war, its horrors and heroisms, its sufferings and illuminations, its sacrifices and inventions, our minds have been awakened as perhaps never since the dawn of the Renaissance. And next, given this arousal to the issues of life and death, given this awakening to the human significance of nature, given the existing resources of knowledge and their practical applications, a certain conclusion follows. It follows that the natural and the human factors that have made our minds in the past will in the

coming generation continue their work, for good and ill, with an acceleration of speed, an augmented energy, an intensified awareness of purpose.

It was natural, if not inevitable, that the tension of the war should be followed in immediate sequel by a phase of relaxing and reaction in mind, body and soul with return to pre-war habits, or worse. This reactionary phase, with all its reversions and perversions, no doubt may persist as the dominant mood throughout the coming half generation or longer. Its upshot to the detached spectator of these times may seem more suggestive of a new "thirty-years' war" than the dawning renascence of a creative era. But on the evidence of our analysis, may it not be affirmed that all the time there will be gathering from the deeps a great tide of awakened life? In the cemeteries of the battle zones lie the tokens of a vicarious sacrifice beyond the imagining of priestly ritual (23). From the multitude of pilgrims who will visit these shrines some will return impassioned by the sense and meaning of this sacrament. Under this religious impulse what will the returning pilgrims do? In the forms of conduct they adopt, the lines of action they pursue, will come to fruition the collective representations that have gone to the fashioning of their minds in the past and those that energise their heart in the present. Formidable no doubt are the suggestions of evil and the impulses to indifference, yet for some at least of the returning pilgrims, the imagination will be fired by words which should have been graven on the monument of Nurse Cavell (24). Her dying message surely expresses something of what prompted to voluntary war service the multitudes of our common-folk stirred to heroism by the German invasion of Belgium in 1914: "Patriotism is not enough."

Those youths of the people who in the autumn of 1914 sprang to the rescue of a distressed Nation were touched with an awakening of the soul which is akin to genius. And is it not supremely on such arousals of dormant personality that the progress of the world depends? The contention then is that, reversions and perversions notwithstanding, there have been brought into existence by the war the pre-requisites for an exceptional florescence of genius. Have not immense latencies of mind amongst the common-folk been brought nearer to realization? To millions formerly untravelled and unobservant have been revealed the evocatory powers of nature; untold opportunities have opened to the contrivances of man's cunning; unprecedented occasions have arisen for the public exercise of woman's tenderness; incredibly dramatic contrasts in the joy and suffering of children have emerged; and through all these strands in the warp of our mental fabric, the hand of the dead is busy as perhaps never before in throwing the shuttle of memory.

V.—From Wardom to Peacedom.

Whatever be the pattern that is weaving on the loom of time, will not the consciousness of design, the intention of workmanship and the resolve of execution become increasingly pervasive in doing battle throughout the community with the regiments of reaction? Nevertheless it would be a profound error to affirm a clear-cut line between "Reaction" and "Progress." Sheer may seem the division between vociferating partisans of both sides; deep the cleavage between "Bolshies" and "Birkies"[1]—if the latter title may be pardoned in punning allusion to their eighteenth century ancestor who championed the English reaction against the Revolutionary Movement of those times. But progress and reaction are terms ill to define. The soldiers for the most part range themselves in the camp of "reaction." Yet the warrior tradition has its high qualities; the soldier sees clearly a definite goal to be reached by mastery of resources in detail and in mass; he is animated by a vision of unity in which one is for all, and all for one; his appeal is to honour and self-sacrifice with their exaltation of spirit. Peril the soldier seeks instead of shunning and so wins the steadfast courage that comes from persistent look into the "bright eyes of danger." The Victorian Peace, because it boasted of "progress" and yet was lamentably deficient in all these imperative needs of the soul, failed to survive.

Surely it is not beyond the wit of man to imagine, plan and create a peace that corrects its own defects by the qualities of war. The Victorian Peace, being but latent war, went far in combining the defects of both. Its competitive commerce, social emulations, political contests, religious rivalries, were a preparation for war; and moreover not of the right sort. Against the Victorian repressions of life and refusal of opportunities, war was the natural rebound of ardent men. To describe the state of a society externally at peace but intrinsically moving towards war, the word Wardom has been invented. Now, there is to be sure, serious risk that after rising into War, such a society should sink back into the slough of Wardom. To the prevalence of such tendencies on all sides is due the pessimism of the post-war mind. But manifestations of the countering tendencies are also discernible. Some of these have already been cited; let us consider a few others of like significance. Note, to begin with, how the ceremonial instincts and habits that go with war's arousal, sought and found other outlets immediately war ceased. Several organisations to this end came into being within a few months of the armistice (25). The Arts League for National Ceremony was one of them; and in the designing and making of the great River Pageant on the Thames, the spirit of

1. "Ye see yon birkie ca'd a lord." (Robert Burns.)

the older Arts' and Crafts' movement came to fruition and made visible to the public that a true successor to William Morris exists in Henry Wilson (25a). A corresponding movement of the younger men was organised and presented in the Arts League of Service (26). This body not only adds to the "Arts and Crafts" of the past generation, those of Dancing, the Drama and Music, but puts these in the very forefront of its policy and programme. Hence, for instance, its converted motor war-lorry, a veritable theatre on wheels touring the villages of England with young players of that vigorous school which springs at one or more removes from the Abbey Theatre of Dublin.

These young dancers, players, singers, musicians of the Arts League of Service, banded for the heartening of the public, are, may we not say, the " Emotionals " of an incipient " Spiritual Power " ? How the corresponding " People " to whose vitalizing service they are pledged, are themselves spontaneously awakening to the issues of life, the chanticleer of the *Daily Herald* proclaims (27). Where next are we to look for the " Chiefs " or executive leaders of the awakening " People " ? Though the answer to this query be hardly as yet visible upon the hoardings, there is at least a hint of it on the bookstalls. The mercantile firm which issues " Bibby's Annual " professes to foresee the advent of an employer type that treats his office not so much as one of profit-making as of Trusteeship (28). Many such undoubtedly exist; the more they become the dominant type, the more active and resolute the "Directing Classes" will be in seeking out and installing in power those who amongst the workers themselves are gifted with the qualities and aptitudes of leadership. But in order that the functional may replace the financial or the fungoid in leadership, a corresponding change of ideas in education is needed. In other words the "Spiritual Power" affirmed as incipient, must have its "Intellectuals " of like order. Amongst many testimonies to the coming of a synthetic and human science fitted for this sort of guidance, note the poster of the "Civics Education League" announcing their Summer School (29). Viewing the world through a portico of the old " abbey " at High Wycombe (the venue of the school) the designer of this poster sees again, like the " Regular " of old the reality of neighbouring buildings in terms of actual living homes, along with the factories and workshops that maintain them. From the widening co-operation of such endeavours among many orders of " Intellectuals," the functional " cloister " of the incipient "Spiritual Power" is doubtless preparing : its coming will help to replace urban illusions by rustic realities, and so bring about what has been called a green revolution in place of a red one. A further step to this end is the long delayed reunion in direct association of

artists, musicians, poets, dramatists, sculptors, with the common folk. A sign and symptom of this coming together of People and Emotionals is the full quota of working-class representatives on the Council of the Arts League of Service. For final illustration take the poster of this League announcing Lectures and Demonstrations at the Central Hall, Westminster (30). Says the explanatory leaflet accompanying this poster :—

> "The public has few occasions of contact with any authority on Art; they get their opinions frequently from ill-informed criticisms and from biassed quarters of the huge camp of commercial art. The Arts League of Service, therefore, in organising these lectures, has chosen a painter, a poet, a dancer, and a musician, each of whom is an artist in his special work."

And what more appropriate place for this direct appeal of Art to the People than the Central Hall at Westminster? By its recent construction and emplacement in the sacred centre of national tradition and by the ingenious adaptations of its internal design to the purposes of public art, does not this significant building mark a real advance towards a living Cathedral for the incipient Spiritual Power? At any rate, if hardly yet a cathedral nave, it is assuredly a music-hall to which the Muses need not be ashamed of returning.

All these initiatives and a thousand others could be cited as the discernible harbingers of a creative era. Yet their practitioners, exponents, advocates, organisers, preachers and singers, assuredly need a clear and moving consciousness of common purpose, before they can hope to coalesce into that party of the Third Alternative which would also be the Party of a vital and constructive Peace. To constitute such a party and make its marching regiments move forward, as it were, *en echelon,* three pre-requisites are superlatively needed. They are, a richer vision of the social goal, a clearer knowledge of the social process, a viable plan of campaign. In the present confusion of social thought, dimness of social vision, dispersiveness of social action, these conditions of fulfilment may seem remote. The backwardness of social science is to be sure a severe hindrance to the growth and formation of a Party of Constructive Peace. But it is possible that the experience of the war may yet awaken even the academic sociologist to serious study of contemporary phenomena and so liberate him from obsession with the abstractions of past cultures, or the primitive simplicities of current barbarisms. In any case, there is testimony to the determination of the older Institutions, both lay and religious, not to wait upon the sociologist, but to fare forth themselves in pursuit of a knowledge of the social process. From this source, maybe, will issue the Friars of the coming cloister through whom understanding and sympathy will be once more united as a practising wisdom.

Their preaching will rouse us to a vision of life realizable here and now, region by region, city by city, on the supposition that we give our minds and apply our hands with the will and the energies of war. They will announce the conditions for a grand-scale campaigning of concerted activity amongst all the Institutions and Movements, old and new, that make for a Vital Economy in town and country. These ministrants of the coming cloister will blend into one moving picture of the might-be, those elements of reality that gave life to the paradises, heavens, utopias of former dispensations. Through drama, story, song, dance, picture, will the People be thus awakened to demand the skilled direction of a General Staff equipped and endowed on the scale of a great war.

Assuredly we need a word to describe the peace-mind of a society aroused to these issues. It must be a word that brings out the contrast with that illusory peace of recent centuries which was but disguised and latent war. The statesmen who, at Versailles, tried to join together the fragments of our broken world, are blamed for not giving us this higher kind of peace. But if you cannot make omelettes without breaking eggs, neither can you by merely breaking eggs. Having grown up in a peace that was wardom, our elder statesmen faithfully reflected in their treaty-making the minds of their peoples in lacking the vision still more the formula of a constructive peace. How, under these conditions, could the armistice be ought but the gateway of a return to wardom? But there are many who refuse this passage into a renewing Hades. It is for them to beat out the tracks towards Peacedom, a term invented to describe the state of mind manifested by a society resolute to wage a Holy War. The energies of Peacedom would be directed to the doing of two things, which are spiritual and temporal aspects of one and the same thing. First an alliance of Churches, Reform Societies, Recreative Associations, Learned Societies, Universities, Schools, to liberate the community from its burden of diseases, poverties, follies, ignorancies, apathies, vices, crimes. Next an alliance of Arts, Crafts, Industries, Trades, to re-make our urban environment, so that from being what it is for most, little better than a lethal chamber, it becomes for all a garden of life.

In a community attuned to a militant peace many problems which at present baffle the wisest statesmen by their complexity would become reduced to a manageable simplicity. For single instance of these secondary reactions (as they might be called) under a state of Peacedom, take the vexed question of increased output. Instead of the customary indirect appeal to workers suspiciously watching for the darkening shadows of unemployment, there could be substituted the direct drive of personal and family impulse. For there would spontaneously arise, under the conditions assumed, a

pervasive impulse towards super-production, which is a very different thing from super-business. And this productive impulse would become operative and prevail just in proportion as there dawned in the mind of every worker a belief that his energies were contributing to a plan for the betterment of his own region and the enhancement of its population. How to generate this revealing faith and bring it home not only to every worker, but to all the members of each community concerned? That is the constructive task awaiting a renovated spiritual power; it is the positive aspect of that problem whose negative lies in the purging of our civilization from its dominant evils. For achievement in this field there is needed a vision of life so compelling and a corresponding doctrine of life so clear as to bring about a working unison of feeling and unity of thought throughout the peoples and the nations of our western civilization. Here surely are the spiritual pre-requisites to the energy of action essential to a safe passage through the present transition. The argument then is that along this path we must advance if, instead of sinking back from war into the putrid mire of wardom, the People with their Chiefs, Intellectuals and Emotionals are together to rise on the wings of embattled memories into the brightening realms of Peacedom.

VI. Socialist Ideals: their Origins and Outcome.

It may contribute towards grasping more clearly the idea of Peacedom, to contrast with it the socialist ideal which is at present dominant. Rooted in a not dissimilar soil, the two ideals are nevertheless very different kinds of plant; for they grow from unlike seeds.

Not a few socialist critics of the Victorian Peace have long treated it as but masked and latent war. Having now come and gone, the war, that was logically due, is being submitted to analysis by these same writers. Their argument, when not purely economic, runs for the most part on lines that are more or less administrative, constitutional, almost legal. The war transferred, they point out, some five million able-bodied men of the British Nation from industrial to military service. And this immense army was kept in the field for several years; it was not only supplied with complicated munitions in incredible quantities, but was itself maintained at an individual level of life, in food, clothing, and recreation beyond the customary peace standards. And all the time the home population was fed, clothed and amused, up to a pitch of efficiency and energy evidenced by an admitted increase of output and heightening of vitality. How then was performed this seeming miracle of production, this acknowledged feat of distribution?

True there was a ceaselessly flowing stream of imports, pur-

chased from foreigners on long-term credit or by sale of accumulated securities; true that our roads, railways and machinery were allowed to fall into some disrepair, and our stocks for home consumption were similarly permitted to run down and the building of houses all but ceased. Yet make allowances on all these counts, and it still remains that in gross output the nation touched a level of performance undreamed in pre-war times. This miracle of production was wrought, say these socialist writers, by a social transformation in which may be discerned as its central process the substitution of State for private control and direction in industry. In short, they maintain that the exigencies of war brought about a first approximation to the socialist ideal. And since the Socialist State has thus demonstrated its capacity in war, why should it not prove equally efficient, indeed even more so, in peace?

But now, instead of stopping the enquiry at this point and thereupon passing with the socialist into dogma, let us with the sociologist push on a little further with the analysis of war-economy and war-politics. Recall that the burst of impassioned energy evoked by the war was directed mainly towards two material ends. One was the making of munitions, food and clothing, for the army; the other was the using up of these things in fighting. At first, it will be remembered, production barely kept pace with consumption. But in the later stages of the war, production ran magnificently ahead; and colossal stocks were heaped up. Then when a certain level of accumulation had been reached, a big battle was fought; and the hoarded wealth was dissipated in one heroic rite of sacrificial destruction, continued till the "dumps" were used up or reduced to moderate proportions. If the battle was lost, stocks were perhaps still more depleted than if won, with consequent heightening of impulse to fresh production. But win or lose, it became evident that war, by its very nature, supplied that ultimate desideratum of traders and manufacturers, an organised and unfailing means of keeping Demand ahead of Supply. Prices, consequently, were ever on the up-grade; and wages following suit, Labour enjoyed a similar prosperity to Capital. In short, war-economy turned out to be the very paradise that had been foreshadowed, hoped and prayed for in the pre-war cults of Goods-economy and Money-economy.

Examining next the kind of goods produced in this output of titanic energies, one sees them conforming to a few well-defined types. They were for the most part either simple rustic products like corn and wool, or rustic-urban compounds of established uniformity, like bully-beef, bread and margarine for feeding the armies; or well standardized manufactures like military clothing and accoutrements; or finally they were things like shells and

machine guns, which though highly complex yet become mass products of uniform manufacture as soon as there are ascertained and given the mathematical types of their mechanism and the chemical formulæ of their composition.

Thus operating within the limits of the Lower Sciences and the Cruder Arts war-economy rises to the heights of mass-output of standardized products, vendible at ever-rising prices in an indefinitely expansible market. 'After this fashion does war-economy reconcile the goods-economy of the early Manchester school with the price-economy of later financial schools, metropolitan and imperial.

Next observe that the assembling and distribution of this relatively uniform mass of standardized goods calls for a corresponding uniformity in clerical service, and so to the trading and manufacturing paradise, war-economy adds the administrative paradise of Monopolist Trusts and also that of Bureaucratic Government. Nor does this compounding of many ideals exhaust the attainment of economic harmonies through war. There are other types and classes to whom it brings a foretaste of their particular heaven. For does not military service afford to the workers and the humbler professions a representative sample of that leisure-class scheme of things to which they most of them aspire? Picture for instance the conditions of military service as recently demonstrated. Protracted phases of comparative freedom and irresponsible inactivity are spiced and garnished by intervals of excitement, varying in intensity from the mild joys of Y.M.C.A. games up to the ecstasies of that supreme sport, man-hunting; the distractions of foreign travel are punctuated by periodic opportunities to participate in metropolitan gaieties; food, clothing and all the materials of sustenance flow as into the lap of gods careless of costs and indifferent to source. Thus by furnishing those human contacts and recreational elements conspicuously lacking in mass-production of standardized goods, does war-economy complete its triumphs of organization. In short, the revealing discovery is made that war provides the populace with a certain semblance to those conditions of "complete material well-being" which constituted the leisure-class ideal of the Victorian era.[1]

On enquiry next into the political forms associated with this economic dispensation, it is easy to see that centralization of authority must go with maximum output of low-grade standardized products. The nation embattled, therefore, naturally places its political destinies in the hands of leaders most skilled by tradition

1. Trading on these leisure-class ideals, the alluring posters which invite young men to join the new volunteer army "and see the world for nothing" doubtless do their work efficiently.

and experience in the manifold forms incidental to the centralization of power. And where are such leaders to be found? Assuredly, there is one occupation and one alone which inherits an immemorial tradition and an incomparable skill in the practice of centralization. It is, of course, the occupation of the warrior. But what, it will be asked, is the connection between political and military forms of centralization? The answer is becoming increasingly plain to students of historical sociology; for they perceive modern theories of the State to be little more than rationalizations made from the military or quasi-military practices of ruling castes.

In entire sincerity do academic theorists of the State impute the origins of their philosophy to the political thinkers of ancient Greece. But that merely relegates the general question, and in any case does not preclude the sociological interpretation of these modern theorists of the State as unconscious political sophists of a masked militarism.

How then in this view should be rated and where placed the "practical politician" in the modern State? Whether in power as a conventional statesman, or seeking power by advocacy of an insurgent statesmanship, the politician would, from the given standpoint, be seen as arrested midway in reversion to the military type. Two further stages towards completing their reversion were well exemplified by our leading statesmen during the war. What were these? Well, recall that to his supremacy in centralizing skill the warrior adds other unique occupational distinctions. He excels beyond question in the mystical power of combining destruction of lives and property with enhancement in the life of the destroyers. And because this order of thaumaturgy evokes a quick response in the deep instincts and unavowed passions of men, the warrior exercises a spell that can bind his community into devoted singleness of purpose. With but little equivocation, therefore, did politicians of all schools, not excluding those of Liberal and even Radical tradition, plunge with ardour into the study of these finer developments, mental, moral, and spiritual, of the military tradition in its application to the art of Government. After a brief apprenticeship, they were to be seen vigorously leading, accompanying, or following their respective bodies of adherents in the corresponding practices. They rapidly became adepts at extending centralization, both political and economic, to its furthest limits. They quickly acquired a fine skill in stirring the nation to feats of labour, exploits of peril and marvels of endurance; in rousing the sense of solidarity, and quickening the pulses of national animus.

Thus, by compounding for economic application and social usage the four ingredients of militarism, viz., centralization or

authority, wholesale destruction, enhancement of life, impassioned unanimity, did the politics of war push to their denoument those deep and hidden tendencies which sanction the title of Wardom in application to the antecedent "peace." And that politics and economics were throughout in accord, if not evident from the above analysis, will at least not be denied by students of socialism, since their philosophy is based on an economic interpretation of history. But to see more clearly the linkage between war-economy and war-politics one may turn to the psychologist, and perchance learn also from him at the same time, something of the inner drive from nineteenth century peace to twentieth century war.

The bundles of mental habits characteristic of the Victorian peace had their accompanying body of half-conscious wishes and sub-conscious desires. These deeper impulses, when repressed, seem to coalesce into disturbing ferments of the mind, for which the psycho-analysts have invented a phrase, not very happily chosen, because of its slightly mechanistic bias. Mental *complexes* is the name they give to these abnormal cerebral integrations which effect temporary adjustments of the individual life to the communitary life in a society of debased tradition and deteriorate environment. From the investigations of this most active of current psychological schools we also discover how the unsatisfied desires of the heart seek a passive outlet in dreams, and that when the soul is stirred to passionate emotion a more realistic fulfilment of that devastating inner urge is, for ill or good, achieved. These psycho-analysts, as their researches extend, are constantly revealing in the working of our minds, new complexes of definite relation to our tradition, occupation, and general mode of life and kind of milieu. And, if they have not yet observed and examined with the detail requisite to scientific analysis, a "war complex" in the mind of the ordinary and average urban man of these days, we may surely expect it from them at any moment. To assume, then, a wardom complex as characteristic of the Victorian mind is a fair deduction from extant data. That means, all the time, starved instincts, thwarted impulses, repressed desires were seeking and finding a vent in bad dreams, ugly actions and dubious conduct, sometimes "rationalized," more often instinctive or merely impulsive. It means also that, of these bad dreams, many worked through into conscious thought and became elaborated into imposing systems. May we not, must we not, impute to such origins the notion of a proletarian paradise to be won by "the class war"; and also the not unrelated illusion of limitless markets in an expanding empire? Is not this latter concept but a variant of the former; the strife of nations in the imperial dream being the equivalent of the class-war in the socialist utopia?

Making these assumptions we more clearly see Germany, tormented by such obsessions even beyond the other Great States of our common occidental civilization, plunging into war, if only to merge the domestic peril in the foreign adventure. But to all the belligerents war brought the relief of action in a crisis of nerves prolonged over more than one generation. And the springs of emotional energy being released, the war naturally proved all the more protracted in time, comprehensive in range, and extensive in destruction, by reason of the long antecedent repression.

Returning now to the political problem, what illumination does this further analysis offer? Does it not suggest a very definite interpretation of the Socialist State? Born and nurtured in the Victorian peace, the idea of the Socialist State came to fruition in the war, because well adapted to create the political and economic forms necessary to a successful issue in that order of activity. The conclusion would appear to be that this socialist ideal is itself a product of the wardom complex. Thus it bears a relation at once to the war-mind and to the business-mind. If in a learned discussion, it be permissible to borrow the language of the stable-yard, then, daring greatly for the sake of a vivid metaphor, one might venture to describe the fashionable form of current Socialism as a chestnut gelding, in course of being broken to harness, out of Business-mind by War-mind.

To demonstrate a correlation of socialism with wardom is by no means to imply that the Socialist State is incapable of initiating and developing a true and constructive peace. But the conclusion does follow that current socialist modes and ideals must themselves undergo profound change, if they would show the way and organize the means to the life-economy and civic-economy of Peacedom.

To affirm the possibility of such a radical change in socialist doctrine is no pious hope or postulate of perfection, but a suggestion of definite re-orientation. There are in the tradition of socialism two heritages, widely divergent. One proceeds along the broad road of Marxian dogma; and the other by the narrow way of social experiment, on which the open-air philosophy of Robert Owen triumphantly started. If working-class leaders had pursued the latter with the same assiduity they have given to the closet-doctrine of Marx, the rank and file would now, it is fair to assume, be well on the way to reaping a richer harvest of real wages, instead of still struggling in the economic void of the price-system, with its mirage of nominal wages.

Owen's way led through Co-operation to Housing, Town-planning, Gardened Cities, and in short, all that bettering of environment which comes from an ordered application of the Finer

Arts and the Higher Sciences to social needs. For Robert Owen, industry, trade and finance were means very deliberately to be adjusted to this end, of life abundant, for the community of workers. Here then, within the Socialist tradition, indeed at its core, is a very different vision from the quasi-militarist ideal of a people organized for mass production of low-grade products, educated in the learning of the leisure-class, and practising its cheaper modes of recreation by way of physical exercise and spiritual sustenance. If it be asked how it came about that socialists were persuaded to adopt this Great Illusion which has developed from the Marxian heresy, the answer is not difficult when one looks back in the dry light of sociological analysis over the long-drawn drama of the industrial era. The creeping reversion to militarism which gradually overtook society in the nineteenth century, we increasingly see to have been deeply characteristic of Machine Production. That being so, the militarist ideal must needs renew itself; and moreover in twin forms adapted to the two Great Interests of these days, *i.e.* Capital and Labour. The suggestion has been made above that Imperialism and Socialism are correlative political systems that respectively meet the requirements of the Classes and the Masses under the Machine Industry and the Pecuniary Culture. But that generalization is somewhat too sweeping, by reason of lacking a certain discrimination. The qualification now suggested is that the proletarian adjustment was less in the nature of things than the product of misguided intellectual endeavours. By impassioned dialectics protracted over a full generation, the Marxian element was manœuvred from a heretical position on the margin, to an orthodox position at the centre of socialist doctrine. To be sure, various correctives have spontaneously arisen amongst working-class movements, but none, so far, have been definitely directed to a full renewal and further development of the rich Owenite tradition. Perhaps the Guild Socialists are destined to that attainment. But if so, must they not develop their Guild organization of industry into a Life-economy of Cities and their Regions, on pain of relapse to a quasi-military tradition of State-economy in chronic wardom?

Since guilds in point of historic origin, and therefore of social purpose, are in, of and for the city, their contemporary renewal must be civic in scope and aim, if it is to grow into a natural fulfilment of type. Further, let it be recalled that coincident with the flowering of the mediæval guilds, there occurred the rise of the Universities and the coming of the Friars. Now think of the Universities and the Friaries at their constructive best in the thirteenth century. Conceive them as the wings of an organism, whose feet were the

guilds, and body the natural autonomous city-region. The ultimate tragedy of that age was a certain frustration that overcame those wings and feet in their effort to carry the city forward through the troubled transition of mediæval to modern times. And to-day that problem confronts the cities of our western world with an urgency intensified by the evils accumulated during all the years of failure to adjust the heritage of the historic past to contemporary and prospective needs through the intermediacy of modern resources. Our cities have as yet been lamentably lacking in the balanced movement of earth-gripping feet and lifting wings. It is then of good augury that a vital renewal of universities is well under way, and even a renascence of guilds is incipient. But long overdue is a new coming of Friars fully equipped in modern resources, yet cherishing the past and looking to the future. Their arrival will mark a real initiation into an era of Peacedom.[1]

APPENDIX.

List of Illustrative Posters and Pictures.

1. A Box o' Tricks. Music Hall Poster.
2. Pour La France. French Flower-day Poster.
3. "I Leave the Land to You." War Poster.
4. Underground Railway Poster.
4a. Covers of Popular Magazines.
5. War Savings Poster.
6 & 7. "Baby Week" Posters.
8. Whistler's Portrait of his Mother.
9. Soldiers' and Sailors' Map of London. (R.I.B.A. Greater London Survey.)
9a. Opening of Crystal Palace as War Museum.
10. The Strong Arm of Labour. (Lamp Advertisement.)
11. Advertisement of Cigarettes. (Fashionable young man and woman at a Race Meeting.)
12. Advertisement of Hair-wash. (Man contemplating in an armchair.)
13. Frontispiece Picture from "Pan."
13a. Symbolic Picture of War-ruined Area.
13b. "Summer in Arcady."
13c. The "Master Creations of Cotton Land."
13d. Terrace Scene at Monte Carlo.
14. Cartoon from "La Vie Parisienne."
14a. Scenes from the Illustrated Press.
14b. Youth and Death.
15. Pictures from the Home-Building Press.
15a. Map of Local Housing—prepared for Exhibition of "Beautiful Richmond, Past, Present and Possible."
16. "Punch's" Presentations of the Profiteer.
16a. The Bolshevist—as his critics see him.
17. Child Playing on Hampstead Heath. (Railway Poster.)

1. This essay is No. XII in the series of *Papers for the Present*, for which the Cities Committee is responsible.

17a. Advertisement of a History of the British Empire.
18. A June Morning, Noon and Evening at Sea. (Railway Poster.)
19. Advertisements appealing for the Starving Children of Devastated War Regions.
20. The Skilled Artistry of Vanity Fair.
21. More Skilled Artistry of Vanity Fair.
22. League of Nations Union Poster.
23. Pictures of Cemeteries in the Flanders Battle-area.
24. Monuments to Nurse Cavell, in Paris and London.
25. Announcements of Arts and Civic Associations.
25a. Illustrations of River Pageant to celebrate the Peace. (By Henry Wilson.)
26. Arts League of Service—Travelling 'Company.'
27. The "Daily Herald's" *Chanticleer.*
28. The Employer as Trustee.
29. Poster of the Civics Education League.
30. Arts League of Service Poster. (Lectures in Central Hall, Westminster.)

A NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE.

EARTH, HELL AND THE THIRD ALTERNATIVE.[1]

I.—The Doctrine of Earth Alone.

A learned historian recently invented, and with pride announced, the phrase "psychic diapason," to express the moral and mental state of a community. His boast was that he had discovered by historical research a certain unison in tone among sentiments, ideas, emotions, as these change in conformity with the whole set of modifications that make one period differ from another in the march of time. Like most learned historians he was in ignorance of the fact that long ago the founder of sociology had based this science on that very discovery, and had coined the phrase "social concensus" to describe the situation. But Lamprecht's phrasing is assuredly a more vital one than Comte's; why not, therefore, adopt and introduce it? And by way of a beginning let us compare and contrast the psychic diapason of 1920 with that of 1915. Those who can throw back their mind to that "wonder year" when the nation had fairly stepped into its war stride, will recall that the whole community (with but the smallest margin of dissentients) was heartened and energised well nigh to the pitch of a regiment in action. Throughout that exalted phase (which lasted not less than a twelvemonth), the nation moved forward on a high joyous note, rich with the overtones evoked by a war that elicited the qualities of a crusade. How different the psychic diapason of 1920! That year will doubtless be remembered for its minor key shrill with the wailing strains of unfulfilled hopes and discordant with the jarring notes of loud-voiced factions.

In no mood of mere optimism, still less of doctrinaire politics, but resolutely like a statesman, calmly like a philosopher, objectively like a scientist, let us raise the question whether it be possible

1. In the series of *Papers for the Present*, for which the Cities Committee is responsible, this is No. XIV.

to imagine, contrive, propagate, organize in 1921 a crusade for 1922 which would restore the psychic diapason of 1915 or something like it. Now here is a problem which, by its very character, belongs to a tradition venerable though enfeebled, and if not completely neglected yet pursued but half-heartedly alike by its older and its newer cultivators. The tradition bears a learned name which even amongst its originators and guardians would appear to have lost its pristine lustre. For is it not the case that theologians are to-day somewhat lukewarm in the study of their science of ends or eschatology? In the great days of that discipline (when for example Thomas Aquinas was drawn from Italy to study it under Albertus Magnus at Cologne), its cultivators built their theories on the basis of a threefold world. There was the everyday world of work and play, meat and drink, health and disease, knowing and doing. It was a world charged with incidents of fortune and misfortune. Above this current sphere of ordinary mortals, rose a world of life enhanced and brightened to serene happiness and high perfections. Below it, sank a world of life debased to misery and torment. And what of the functional ties that bound these three worlds into one moral system? To quicken your life on Earth, and save your soul from the torments of Hell, set your inmost mind on Heaven! that was the everyday working maxim of eschatology in its prime.

Upon this threefold world of mediæval theology, certain philosophers of the Renaissance turned their telescopes. They tested it also with their balances and their barometers. With these instruments of the new sciences nothing could be seen, or weighed, or measured, of the upper world of enhanced life or the lower world of debased life. So the belief became established and all but universally held amongst the learned that instead of three worlds there was only one, that, in short, heaven and hell did not exist, and earth alone was real. Yielding to this denial, the theologians unobtrusively began to remodel their world of the inner and the outer. It was found at length that they had silently abandoned the lower structure only to discover that the upper was thereby undermined and in momentary danger of crashing.

Now the notable thing about a world, in which the keys of St. Peter hang rusty and unused, is that John Grubby is the winning type; against all comers, in that dispensation, he can be backed to gain fame, fortune, honour. Of all who survive by fitness in adaptation to this social order his type is perhaps the very fittest. His forceful personality, his march from triumph to triumph make him the very model of Herodian eugenists. To explain the secret of Grubby's success, his biographer makes no appeal to ideas which identify the acquisitive instincts with the intentions of Providence. Instead, he submits an analysis of Grubby's soul and from

that we perceive the qualities of mind which command success in our modern era.

> Never did dream of hell or wrath
> Turn Viscount Grubby from his path,
> Nor was he bribed by fabled bliss
> To kneel to any world but this.

To-day he stands conspicuous, a leader amongst the "hard-faced men," whose parliamentary scowl frightened a recent Chancellor of the Exchequer into incontinent abandonment of the project for a modest levy on war-fortunes. Grubby's own share of those particular gains issued from two sources. To begin with he purchased a large paper interest in oils and metals at the beginning of the war, when these commodities were relatively abundant and cheap. Later on, when the prices of these commodities had risen to scarcity levels, he sold his large paper interest in them at an enormous profit. With the augmented credit he "financed" a fat contract with the Ministry of Munitions; an act of patriotism rewarded by a rise in the peerage.

But these deeds fall historically in the record of his later exploits. His earlier course may be recalled as a representative case of "success in life" under the finer blend of Victorianism and Manchesterism. At twenty-one he had acquired a partnership in the firm of Chepe and Dere. Chepe was the buyer for the business and Dere its salesman. Dere, being gifted with a rich vein of romance, also wrote the firm's advertisements. Well planted in business, Grubby next gave himself to finance, whence he followed the customary route into Society, then through politics to legislative permanence in the Peerage. His middle stages of personal and social progress are tersely sketched by Grubby's biographer:—

> Lord Brute
> Had found him useful; and Lord Loot
> With whom few other men would act,
> Valued his promptitude and tact.
> Nor did even Philanthropy
> Enrich a man more rapidly.

Turning to the opposite pole of society, one observes a certain reversal of the situation. There is the poetry of Burns to remind us that in his time the Devil and his Kingdom were real enough to the working-class. And to-day though the concept and the word have disappeared from the thoughts of the learned and the conversation of the polite, there is no reason to suppose that "hell" has lost its vogue in the vocabulary of labour; but rather the contrary.

The frequency of recourse to this strong word by the workman may be a mere case of survival in folk-lore; yet also it may betoken

the recognition of a pervasive reality. But not without significance assuredly is the striking recurrence of reference to hell both directly by name and indirectly by allusion in the poems of Mr. G. K. Chesterton. He more than other modern poets sings the cause of the people, of whom he reminds us:—

"Many a one grows witless in his quiet room in hell."

Shocking pictures of a milieu of working-class misery are presented in books like those of the Hammonds, devoted to the collecting of data for the long deferred history of the evils that preceded, accompanied and followed, the Industrial Revolution. Most vivid of all in realistic presentation is the pictorial evidence gathered by the civic sociologists in the exhibitions they occasionally make to demonstrate their unconventional views of modern history. From such exhibits one receives the impression of the working-class quarters in towns and cities as an environment which, since the later Renaissance, through the Industrial Revolution, and down to the middle of the nineteenth century, was ever growing more like hell.

A survey of the facts would seem to compel the belief that in the Book of Judgment a heavy score is recorded against Modern Man. Yet also there is no mean register of balancing items in the credit pages. Has not the country-side during the past three to four centuries been closely studded with parks, gardens and mansions, everyone of which appears to the chance visitor as a veritable paradise? Their halls are adorned with noble statuary, their galleries resplendent with pictures of transcendent beauty, their libraries replete with the poetry and the prose of romance and philosophy. Instruments of music, from great organs to exquisitely wrought violins confirm the suggestion that the inmates of these palaces of art, embowered amid the glories of nature, enjoy a foretaste of heaven. At their disposal are those titanic forces of the physical universe whose conquest is the just pride of modern science.

Those familiar with the inner life of our Ascendant Classes do not, however, confirm the impression of their heavenly state. The mental specialists of Harley Street (who are the modern "Father Confessors" of the rich) indeed tell a quite different tale. From a perusal of the published transactions of those conventicles in which these mental specialists foregather, is to be gleaned a strange picture of moral disorder in the souls of their patients. We see in the inner life of these men and women so richly gifted outwardly, a malaise of repressed instincts, thwarted impulses, unsatisfied desires, baulked dispositions,—in short a condition of soul more suggestive of hell's torments than heaven's serenity.

It would thus appear that on a first casting of accounts there is a serious debit against both rich and poor in the balance sheet of modern civilisation. But so cold and formal a presentation of the case lacks the impressiveness of life and falls short of reality. To impart an adequate sense of the real, translate the situation into the vivid language of moral order and spiritual vision. What better way of doing this than by recurrence to the language and tradition of heaven and hell? Are not these concepts of the moral world the necessary and indispensable twin poles of spiritual guidance? Those who rejected that compass of the inner life and adopted the creed of Earth Alone, were, in point of fact, we now perceive, engaged in steering the ship of state on a course heading for hell. Does it go far beyond reality to say, by way of summarising recent and current history, that the directing classes and their spiritual advisers having failed to steer the community heavenwards have well nigh shipwrecked the poor on rocks at the jaws of hell and have stranded the rich in a purgatory masked with the trappings of paradise?

The spiritual state of contemporary society being thus diagnosed, let us recur to the opening question—is it possible to initiate a crusade that will restore the psychic diapason of 1915 or something resembling it in tone and pitch, and so rescue us from our several purgatories and hells; it maybe even start us on a heavenward path? This surely is no fanciful inquiry but the kind of problem that lies at the very heart of sane polity. If not preoccupied with this sort of problem, assuredly are our statesmen like navigators who put to sea without a compass. What then are the resources available for heartening and energising the community towards the harmonious action of some inspiring common purpose? What have the older philosophies and the ancient religions to offer in contribution? What is the voice of modern science in this affair?

As for modern science, it is important to realize that its tale is but half told with those sciences which scorned hell and rejected heaven because they could not penetrate its substance with their telescopes, weigh its bulk with their barometers, and search its qualities in their test tubes. Those were but the lower sciences whose false leading has been no small factor in making the tragedy of modern man. Slower to emerge and recrystallize from the spiritual debris of our social heritage were the higher sciences. It is only in our own time that these higher sciences are winning a modest recognition. The fight is hard and often bitter. For almost everywhere the high seats of authority are occupied by men of the backward look who adjust themselves to contemporary needs by the practice of a sincere and convinced sophistry.

There is one field in which a branch of these higher sciences is

becoming firmly rooted. With the incoming of psychology into the schoolroom a veritable revolution is transforming the whole world of education. Starting in the experimental schools of adventuring pioneers the movement is quickening the elementary and even the higher schools. Against this wealth of renewing life, the universities cannot hope indefinitely to preserve intact their treasures of outworn philosophy and their dust-heaps of unrelated specialisms.

To describe in a sentence the gist of this educational revolution now in progress is not easy. But certain aspects stand out conspicuously. It aims, in the first place, at harmony of soul in childhood and youth; and to this end it works not only or even mainly through the curriculum but seeks to divert thereto the whole milieu of the school and its neighbourhood; it asks for the co-operation of the home and all its varied activities; it reaches out for aid in kind from whatever environment and tradition the child in its explorations may penetrate. In short the endeavour is to fashion from the best material available an envelope for the unfolding life of childhood and youth whereby the high potencies of soul, mind and body may be evoked and developed into an integral personality. Here, then, is a sample of reconstruction under leadership of the higher sciences, mainly so far psychological, but of late with increasing aid and co-operation from the social sciences. These latter manifestly have for ultimate objective a reconstruction of the wider world beyond the school. To bring the conditions of adult life into harmony with the psychological ideals of childhood and youth may seem in the present state of things a hopeless and impossible endeavour. But the lesson of our modern tragedy is surely this—that unless we orient our course to a heavenward destination we inevitably stumble and fall into the abysmal pits of hell.

What precisely then is the sort of guidance that the social sciences offer the human pilgrim who would embark on a heavenward journey? Well, the psychological sciences are slowly but securely building their conception of the school, its garden and playground, as a paradise of childhood. So the social sciences are gradually compiling the data for a better design of communitary life. The underlying assumption is that each village, town and city if it will take the pains adequately to survey its own environment and systematically to explore its own tradition, will find at its command resources of betterment and means of enhancement far from fully utilized at present. For the objective of a policy initiated by this sort of regional survey, a word is wanted in conformity with the ideals of life whose renewal is pursued by the psychological sciences. The word Utopia is hardly available. Though of philo-

sophical origin it shares the evil fate of its theological counterpart. The "practical man" and his twin brother, the cultivator of the lower sciences, both reject the concept of Utopia as a foolish notion of even less value than those of heaven and hell since the latter pair are at any rate harmless toys for women and children. In point of fact, the word Utopia, though invented at a time when the old heavens were already falling, yet manifestly retained in its composition a sense of ancient faith in the reality of an ideal world. May it not be said that Utopia adapted to secular usage the theological contrast, yet continuity, of heaven and earth? To effect this adjustment Sir Thomas More, after the manner of his time, had recourse to the then fashionable device of the pun. Utopia can be spelt in Greek outopia or eutopia. Translated into English the former means the impossible place which is nowhere, and the latter may be taken to stand for the good place as it can be made here and now if we set our minds to the task. Thus was the endeavour made to adapt to modern usage the binocular vision of religious antiquity, by a seer who, in that era of transition, very deliberately prepared himself by cultivating alternately the backward and the forward look. Failing to learn this lesson of adjustment, subsequent generations with their creed of Earth Alone, retained but the ironic half of More's pregnant word and even forgot altogether the more hopeful meaning.

From this profane neglect of the modern "practical man," reinforced by the blindness of the lower sciences, the Renaissance Eutopia is now in course of rescue by the higher sciences. This renewing Eutopia is, needless to say, no fanciful imagining of undisciplined dreamers, nor vague dogma of political doctrinaires, but quite the contrary. Its basis, the regional or civic survey, is a serious affair requiring for adequate performance a collaboration of many specialists; and something more. For their several contributions to our knowledge of the community's life and environment have to be blended into a single picture. The aim of the regional survey is one harmonious composition in which is grouped and presented the essential facts and tendencies of the local community in its present, the story of its past, and a discernment of its incipient future, in so far as that is already here in germ, just as the leaves of next year's branch are already visible in bud on this year's shoot. What his vision of fruit, flowers and vegetables in the coming year are to the gardener's knowledge of soils, seeds, manures and seasons, that the Regional Eutopia is to the Regional Survey.

But true though the analogy be, yet how profound the differences! The survey of community life and its regional environment is built up from many and diverse specialisms. It takes form in

an assemblage of documents and an exhibition of pictures, maps, charts, models. Now the compiling, the gathering and the presentation of all these has two grand purposes. One is to discover and make manifest the individuality of each village, town and city in its respective region. The other is to bring into closer communion that regional individuality and the personalities of its several inhabitants. It is only in the measure that this identity of interest and outlook is attained that advance can be made towards the second stage of the process. Plans for regional development, schemes for betterment and designs of enhancement, will emerge and prove workable just in proportion as an inner transformation of each individual life has generated a sense of environmental unity in variety, an accord of traditional outlook and a desire for the unison of community. The regional eutopia comes to birth out of the regional survey in the degree and to the extent that the mass of individual players in any given community grow into its orchestra.

The essence of the process is the inner transformation; but in no vague sense of a mere "change of heart" or revivalist "conversion." Given the liberation of energies that goes with the enhancement of life inherent in "conversion," the direction of these renewing energies of personality is the vital problem. It is here that the eutopian vision has its justification and its relevance.

The Regional Eutopia, if well grounded in regional survey, affords at once a basis of moral guidance and material direction. And as for the alternative, does not a reading of the past three to four centuries of material "progress" suggest that Sir Thomas More fell short of the truth in offering a choice of Eutopia or nowhere? Must we not rather follow the older tradition and affirm that those who fail to seek Eutopia will find Hell?

Yet we are told that while ye would do good, evil is present with you. What assurance then can there be that those who enter on the quest of Eutopia will be able to cast off the burden of evil which has grown so prodigiously in modern times? The same tradition that devised the system of a threefold world insisted on a ritual of purgation from sin by sacrifice, vicarious or direct, as preliminary to passage from lower to higher states of being and becoming.

II.—A Sabbatical Year for the Money-Power.

What have the higher sciences to say of the religious emphasis on purgation from sin through sacrifice as an indispensable step towards well-doing? Have they even a standpoint of genuine understanding in this issue? Into the domain of vital facts envisaged by religion in its higher forms, and the spiritual processes handled by the implied ritual, the psychological and social sciences have as yet penetrated but a very little way. There is to be sure

an extensive secular literature touching the nature and inheritance of evil, organic and social, but for the most part it is of random acceptance or criticism. It is of little interpretative value and hardly touches the fringe of those issues which are central to the religious doctrine of purgation from sin through sacrifice and the resulting practice directed to the transmuting of evils to ideals. True, there passes current for a "science of comparative religion," a medley of snippets about crude origins, anecdotes of savage rites, veiled implications of archaistic survivals advanced by one school, sophistical justification of them by another, or their dialectical analysis by a third. All this field of unco-ordinated facts and half-meditated explanations awaits the ordered survey and the deeper interpretation of an authentic sociology built up in the tradition of "pure" science. A re-valuation of religious phenomena by the corresponding "applied" science would follow. Faced by this devastating lack at the very core of his subject, the sociologist of to-day yet enjoys a certain compensation.

The moral phenomena of the war, being interpretable in an approximately religious sense, offer an incomparable field for observation and practical suggestion. Regarded in this sense the war may be viewed as the vastest of historic experiments in quasi-religious organization. By ordered contrivance of peril and relinquishment there was effected for instance, a large-scale enhancement of commonplace lives well nigh comparable to the exaltation that goes with sacramental ritual. Or again, by subtle changes in public opinion, there was imparted to the proletarian processes of industry, for the time being, a personal dignity and an honorific worthiness that fell little, if at all, short of sanctification.

These considerations are not without value in contributing towards an understanding of the exaltation of mood, the Titanic productivity, the concert of social classes, the thrills and resolves, that characterized the British (and other) communities in the earlier phases of the war. Now suppose the pealing tones of that psychic diapason were the reverberations of a spirit awakened in every human breast towards high purpose and creative activity through the merging of personal in communitary ends! On the analogy of religion, the operative elements in this sort of transmutation are two. First there is purification through the sacrifice of personal ambitions and petty aims. Next there is the heartening and energising of life by the taking up and absorption of individual personality in the higher personality of the community. Making these assumptions we are brought nearer to the grand desideratum for social disorders, a "moral equivalent of war."

There would seem to be a negative condition of fulfilment and a positive one. The former is release from that purgatory which

is the subjective aspect of our competitive industry, the latter is baptismal immersion in the strong waters of a communitary crusade. Now these propositions will doubtless command assent as general statements of the course of redemption and the means of renewal. The difficulty arises with the needed detail, first to start and carry through the purificatory process; next to initiate and ensure the issue of re-birth. But these obstacles, formidable in any case, are nevertheless mitigated by certain compensatory facts. Precedents both for detail of procedure and type of process may be drawn from the social and moral experimentation of the war; for therein were developed forms which transcended the customary and approached the ceremonial, even in regard to everyday usages. Outside the ritual of combat, perhaps the clearest instance of transition from the regime of law and custom towards a sanction, almost religious in its sense of rightness and awareness of transcendent unity is seen in the series of steps by which was gradually introduced the system of Rationing.

Unhappily the lustre of success in rationing has been dimmed by the corroding arbitrariness of Control. On the close of the war an indiscriminating public condemned all State Control, without observing the wide varieties of Control exercised, in the war, by different Departments and Commissions. In point of fact the modes of Government Control ranged from the blundering expedients of pecuniary enterprise to the thought-out experiments of laboratory science. No sooner was the peril of war gone than an avalanche of criticism swept down upon "Control" as though it was a standard bogey of uniform model. In that noisy onslaught people lost sight of the rationing system as an experimental means of adjusting Economic Demand to Human Need. Yet is not this very problem the Achilles heel of the capitalist regime? And assuredly the Rationing System, taken at its best, if it did not discover, did at least suggest a way of retaining the qualities, while eliminating the worst defects of the price-system. There was perhaps some tacit recognition of this experimental value in the fact that a highly individualistic public not only accepted but welcomed with something of sacrificial intensity a direct rationing of food, and a system of licensing in the distribution of material which amounted to an indirect rationing. Conscription was in effect a Rationing of Man-Power. And if the war had continued a little longer, this system of attaining towards unity by adjusting individual claims to communitary needs would have gone on to its natural and logical climax. The crowning achievement towards which the movement tended, and but just failed to reach, was a Rationing of Money-Power. Towards the end of the war increasingly did it become plain, that only through this means could be

secured the necessary concentration of energies towards the national objective. It is perhaps to be regretted, in the interests of economic and social science, that this climax was not reached. For as an experiment in searching out the immanence of unity, by social adjustment under a prevailing sense of the honourable and the worthy, the application of the Rationing System to Money would have rounded off and brought to a certain completeness what was perhaps the master invention of those eager years. In falling short of this full-orbed development, the immense thought and labour that went to the designing and building up of the Rationing System left the world with one more unrecorded tragedy. Even so its actual achievements were perhaps insufficiently recognized. For surely it was no mean performance, if not to suspend yet profoundly to qualify and humanize, the reign of the two ruling deities of the Industrial Age; those whom the economists taught us to worship as Supply and Demand. But what a triumph it would have been to dethrone Mammon, Supreme Power in the cult of Earth Alone!

Is that attainment realizable in a Christian community only through the outbreak of another world-war before the experience of this one is forgotten? Or is it relevant to suggest even now a mild experiment in the taming of Mammon by the bit and bridle of the Rationing System, while those fitted by long course of trial and error in this sort of experience are presumably still available? There is encouragement in the thought that two years after the close of the war, as our sugar-cards of but the other day reminded us, the national allegiance to Demand and Supply is still imperfectly restored. May then the humble sociologist indulge a hope of public hearing in this case? At any rate, it may be worth while as an exercise in his applied art of social technics, to sketch a rough outline of procedure towards a better adjustment of public and private finance, and all that is implied thereby[1]

The range of emotional appeal would be wide and varied. In some, a desire to avert or mitigate the peril of revolution might sufficiently awaken the sense of sacrifice, in others compassion for the multitude of non-combatants upon whom in one way and another the war has left a burden of suffering. Again there are grounds of appeal to pride of patriotism in creating opportunity for a "beau geste" by the nation in face of a world half cynical and half expectant. But the strongest appeal might doubtless be made to reverence for the memory of those who fell in the war.

1. The subsequent scheme outlined for practical experiment is to be read as a sequel to the analysis of current Finance put forward in *Paper* No. VII. Therein was begun a research for the Third Alternative to Business and Philanthropy, which is carried a stage further in this *Paper*.

Does not the rebound from the shuddering horrors of that immense vicarious sacrifice lie along this path? But the intensity of the reaction exerted by vicarious sacrifice on the minds of its living beneficiaries depends to be sure on the skill and intention that may be applied thereto by those traditionally charged with the relevant ritual. Hence the unlikelihood of any scheme for arousing and directing these latent impulses of reverence coming to fruition without priestly concurrence and co-operation. The collaboration of the Churches, difficult as it might be to secure, must therefore be postulated. Making then this large assumption, let us pass on to the detail of the plan. Recall to begin with some of the ceremonial forms which attended the vicarious sacrifice. There were several well-marked phases in the procedure. To call them by their ordinary names of Registration, Mobilization, Conscripton, is insufficiently reminiscent of the public fervour which gave a tacit recognition to their quasi-religious significance.

The youth and early manhood of the nation were thus induced to surrender their liberties and to declare and expose the quality and manner of their lives. Next after submitting to scrutiny of their persons and verification of their record they were severally allotted to the public service, combatant or non-combatant, according to fitness and capacities.

Sheltering in the agony of war behind the human shield and sword of Man-Power, our community maintained its livelihood, preserved its tradition, safeguarded its accumulated wealth. Is it too much to ask of the Money-Power that now in turn, during a time of economic peril, it should also surrender for a term its liberty for the welfare of the nation? Let us recognize then, below the complexities of imperial finance and national budgets the apparent simplicities of individual incomes and domestic expenditures. The suggestion is that we should work towards a better public finance, a finer national economy and a larger sense of social obligation through a rationing of private revenues. A sacrificial ritual has, we have seen, been set by Man-Power. A similar course mapped out for the Money-Power would in the nature of things be far less onerous to its participants. Let then every person on the roll of income-tax payers fully disclose for entry in a National Ledger the sources and amounts of their receipts from business, investments, speculation, ownership of property real and personal. Given this Registration of the Money-Power, in a form open to easy scrutiny and sure verification, there would next follow its Mobilization for communitary use during such a term as might be judged sufficient to tide over the current economic disorders. A twelvemonth might be sufficient. In that ancient Hebrew polity, which, in some of its aspects has served as a model to Western

Europe at one time or another during the past two thousand years, there was an institution called the Sabbatical Year. So why not now a Sabbatical Year for the Money-Power?

An Income-Rationing Authority would have to be created. What a happy release if D.O.R.A. could unequivocally expire in giving birth to a gentler daughter—I.R.A. A pattern of procedure is available in the local military tribunals set up during the war. There was at the time not a little criticism of their action; but it would probably be admitted that on the whole they did their work well and conscientiously. The necessary adjustment to the case in point could be made by substituting for the medical expert a chartered accountant and reinforcement by adding a banker and a trained economist to each local tribunal.

Consider the functions of I.R.A.! Into her presence would come the long and varied procession of income-tax payers for apportionment of their revenues during the coming year. A private portion would be left in their possession for maintenance of home and family on the subsistence level to which many people, rich and not rich, voluntarily reduced their outgoings during the war. As to the mode of this apportionment, the coal-rationing system on a basis of fire-grates per house conveys a hint. A second portion of the private income would be ear-marked for payment of rates and taxes, and perhaps also for customary personal contributions to charity. The remainder would be turned, for the year, into the public purse; one part of this might well be given direct to the local housing authority and the rest to a common good. From the former would be issued loans to Public Utility Societies and other groups and firms experienced in sound building, such loans to run without interest and be repayable in long period instalments derived from the rents of the houses thus constructed. These repayments might return proportionately to the original lenders or their heirs and successors.

Now before enquiring into the uses and destination of the Common Good let us pause for a rough calculation. What total of income might be ear-marked and socialised by a well-organised mobilization of the Money-Power? In framing an estimate it may be hazardous but permissible to assume a reduction of taxation to something between twice and three times its pre-war rate. Now the annual savings of surplus income before the war perhaps amounted to about £400,000,000. Convert these pre-war pounds into "Bradburys" (*i.e.*, post-war pounds) and the amount becomes not less than £800,000,000. Add, say, a couple of hundred millions (surely a moderate estimate) for the compulsory margin, and we get a total of one thousand millions disposable through I.R.A.

Perhaps £400,0000,00 spread over two or three years would

build the half-million dwellings needed for the under-housed and non-housed population. There remains £600,000,000 available for the Common Good. The apportionment of this is a more difficult matter. But the principles of guidance are clear. The curtailment of expenditure by the rich would throw out of employment a certain margin of those who cater for their pleasure. To take up this slack and reorganize the same body of pleasure-caterers in the service of their respective local communities would constitute the first claim on the Common Good fund. Next, perhaps, should come the provision of new capital for industrial and commercial development. Whatever sum was available for this would be rationed on the principle of loans at a fair rate of interest to undertakings financially sound and socially justifiable.[1] Applicants might be dealt with in each region and district by capital-rationing committees, drawn from local bankers, chartered accountants, and social workers to look after the interests of the unemployed and also local amenities. The whole of these industrial loans would, after deduction of expenses, be credited to the body of property-owners submitted to the proposed scheme of social discipline. A

1. Touching the rate of interest and the modes, actual and possible, of its adjustment, research into the following points is much needed : (1) how in detail did it come about, that in the later phases of the war, there developed a sort of understanding between Financiers and Bankers, the Government, and the investing public, to treat five per cent. as a "fair" or "standard" rate? (2) how far by design and how far by the accidents or sub-conscious impulses of indirection, did it come about that the post-war rate of interest was removed from the realm of ethical consideration and relegated to the "purely" economic considerations of Demand and Supply? (3) the resulting rise to a fluctuating "standard" mounting to 6%, 7%, 8% and beyond, involved certain social reactions, of which the following are perhaps verifiable : (*a*) the discouragement of housing and other efforts to raise the popular standard of living by loading them with a long-time charge practically prohibitive to the beneficiaries and apparently profitable to the "directing classes"; (*b*) the encouragement of Combines, Trusts, and other economic organizations of like kind which enjoy an expansive margin in price-fixing and so can promptly pass on the differential interest-burden to "the consumer"; (*c*) stimulus to speculation, first to avoid the capital fall of pre-war securities doomed by the rising rate of interest; and secondly to "get something for nothing" by participating in the higher yield of the new securities. On the face of it, the differential in a rising rate of interest would appear to impose an annual levy of unknown amount for an unknown term of years on the poorer classes for the benefit of the richer. But the predatory instincts thus aroused, assuredly do their work all round a vicious circle. A class-struggle is thereby promoted (even maybe to the verge of a "class-war"); for the receivers of profits, wages, salaries, rents are all automatically drawn into a *melée* in which the bold and the cunning are driven on by hope of plunder, and the meek and the humble by fear of the devil's prongs that impale the hindmost. Here then are some of the impulses to "social unrest" seemingly let loose when the dissociation of ethical from economic criteria in the post-war adjustment of the rate of interest was achieved.

round £500,000,000 would be the sum left available for industrial and commercial loans, if to the £400,000,000 devoted to housing there were added £100,000,000 by way of a tithe charge on the whole proceeds of the Sabbatical Year. But before considering the use of this tithe, give some further reflection to the disposal of the Industrial and Commercial Loan Fund. In its allocation the problems of foreign and international finance should claim early consideration. Suppose that credits were given to British industries to manufacture on foreign account, with a preference to the needs of Central and Eastern Europe, and moreover, on a footing of deferred payments by the foreign importers, spread over several years and at rates of exchange actuarially adjustable in terms of index numbers. It is probable that at the close of the credit period the losses would be inconsiderable, and could be covered by a moderate addition to the selling price. In this way might be delivered several good strokes; one for the unemployed at home; another for the comity of nations; and a third for the much-needed simplification of finance by a closer working together of manufacturers and bankers.

Now turn to the allocation of the tithe fund. In pursuance of the ancient tradition which attaches to the idea of the tithe, this sum of one hundred millions would be at the disposal of the Spiritual Power; but clearly it must be a Spiritual Power of fully modernized competence. Where, however, is such an organ to be found? Well, as an experimental effort, suppose this tithe fund were divided into a smaller and a greater portion; the latter in each locality going unreservedly into the hands of a Consolation and Enhancement Committee, and the former to a Committee of Guidance. Now those of finest skill in the current technique of cheerfulness and in modern modes of consolation are, of course, our singers, musicians, novelists, painters, sculptors, architects, story-tellers, dramatists, actors, theatre-managers, artist-craftsmen, and last but not least gardeners, park-makers and town-planners. To each local Consolation and Enhancement Committee chosen from these would manifestly need to be added, in order to keep the balance even, certain others, for example a motherly woman of the people, one of the humbler clergy, and, perhaps, a civic sociologist. As to the composition of the Regional Guidance Committee, the choice would lie in the local circle of intellectuals, but in our present chaos of thought and conflict of opinion, the mode of selection would assuredly be a difficult matter. Yet, selective activities of widely varying local interests and impulses would, in proportion as they broke loose from the prevalent bias of snobbery, yield valuable results as an experiment in substituting for prejudice and empiricism a modest application of thought and knowledge to public life.

III.—Back to Domestic-Economy and Civic-Economy.

The repercussions of the project as a whole have to be considered. But in this one must bear in mind the data and conditions of the experiment. On the one hand there are the existing habits, proclivities, dispositions of the participants, and on the other hand the changes in social environment, life and activities to which it is proposed to submit these individuals. The question is first to what extent can we devise and set going a process of dehabituation, or solution of personality, throughout the various classes of the community. And next how far can the ensuing re-birth of personality through process of rehabituation be directed to given ends and definite purpose? The experiment being an attempted ordering and adjustment of individual "conversion" towards definite changes of tradition and modifications of environment, it is necessary to postulate (with, however, little or much of actuality present or prospective) a thorough-going co-operation of the Churches and the Higher Sciences. Upon this hazardous assumption rests the chances of meeting and countering the tendency of impulses, desires, emotions, to slip back, after a momentary awakening to vision, into old grooves of habit instead of rising into new ones. The crux of the inner problem is the re-orientation of personality by directing, in terms of the new design, the energies of mind and heart liberated by a ritual of quasi-religious kind. In the requisite division of labour between the churches and the sciences their respective parts are clear. On the former rests responsibility of bringing to bear, for the arousal, evocation, and renewal of life's latent potencies, all that measured series of rites and tested ritual which have accumulated in the age-long experiences of the historic churches in dealing with this order of problem. But the sacrificial purgation and consequent enhancement of life which results from well-designed ritual are emotional processes which call for intellectual direction towards a clearly defined social goal. Here is assumed the relevant contribution of the higher sciences to the joint adventure. Their scheme of Regional Surveys is taken as the intellectual approach to a common goal of science and religion, in the making of the Regional Eutopia. If this scientific conception and plan of a realizable ideal does not square with the religious notion of a kingdom of heaven on earth, there is presumably sufficient latitude on either side to make the needed adjustments.

With these reminders and resumptions of what has already been said, we may be the better prepared to consider the joint control of the experiment. To begin with, there can be little doubt of concurrence as to the desirability of clapping a brake on the

chariots of Vanity Fair. Never before in our time (not perhaps since the era of "Berlin 1871") has there been such commotion round the pleasure booths, to which the new rich are seen crowding in ostentatious rivalry with the old. Now, the stoppage of the costlier wastes, displays, amusements, sports, recreations, would happily divert to other activities those masterful and exuberant energies which characterize the more vigorous members of the leisure class. Not a few of these, following a finer tradition of their class, would doubtless give themselves as volunteers to a Public Service of Communitary Recreation.

The organization of such a service has already been assumed, and no doubt would be a first inititative of the local Consolation and Enhancement Committees. Their programme and policy would be directed primarily to the heartening and energizing of the people, and through this would achieve the economic purpose of taking up the "slack" intervening between the dissociation of pleasure caterers from leisure-class business and their re-education for enrollment everywhere in the artistic and recreational service of the local community.

Other outlets for the hand-head-and-heart power disengaged by rationing the Money-Power would soon reveal themselves. As the possibilities of reconstructive campaigning opened out before eager eyes and willing hands, all those associations of voluntary aid created amid war enthusiasms would renew themselves, and moreover on a finer, larger, and more permanent basis. Imagine, for instance, the delectable excitement of the explorations and adventures thus liberally offered to politicians afforded an opportunity to redeem election pledges about transforming urban slumdom and rural dulldom into a milieu fit for the brides and the mothers of heroes! That paper currency of electoral campaigning might (under the conditions assumed) get cashed at the Bank of Eutopia!

From these social and political reactions pass on to more definitely economic ones. Continued relief from the omnipotence of Demand and Supply is assumed, as well as the casting down of Mammon from his throne, during the full twelve months of the Sabbatical Year. What resulting modification in the nature and outlook of business is to be presumed? A clue to the answer may perhaps be found in reflecting that the textile factory in historic origin was just a vast extension of the domestic spinning wheel and loom. Moreover at one or more removes all the apparatus and instruments of industry and commerce have a similar relationship to some aspect of the home. To restore factory, workshop and market to their proper place of subordination to the home is manifestly a necessary accompaniment to the socialising of surplus

incomes. A Sabbatical Year for the Money-Power would fail to do its work unless simultaneously could be initiated a re-domestication of Man-Power. Indications that this problem of subordinating industry and business to vital, social and civic needs is in course of being seriously studied and practically planned, abound on all sides and throughout the modern world. But everywhere these efforts lack co-ordination and general direction. To meet this deficiency is needed a vision so clear, simple and compelling as to stir every heart and touch every mind. Could we but attain to such vision would not most economic problems be not so much solved as, so to speak, side-tracked?

What greater all-round stimulus to higher productivity, for example, is conceivable than an unquestioned conviction on the part of the people that they were working for a rise in the standard of life, in their own home, street, village, town, city, country-side? And a rise in the standard of life means not only greater production, but even something more essential. It means making things of finer quality and so of higher value both for sale and for enrichment of the general environment. The efficiency of each local Consolation and Enhancement Committee would be tested in the shining faces of the people, but also in the cut of the garments they fashioned for themselves, the style of the furniture they made for domestic use, the shapeliness of the houses they chose to construct. The bettering of Environment cannot be separated from the improvement of the Mind, the mending of Manners, the dignifying of Gesture. And in the long run, the economy of life turns out to be the deepest economy of money, a truth confirmed by the ever-rising price of the best products of past workmanship. Hand in hand, the care of the purse and the cure of souls march together in the economy of the home, because every housewife knows the connection of food, clothing and shelter with health, conduct and manners. But in the same things stated in a larger way as Environment and Population, as Business and Morals, as Industry and Education, the simple relationship is apt to get obscured in the minds even of Politicians and Economists.[1] How excusable, therefore, the corresponding confusion in the speech and thought of the "man in the street"! He, if assured that "production" was for enrichment of life, would gain in sense of reality and so approach social stability by drawing nearer in outlook to the priest

1. Examples might here be given of the confusion into which politicians are driven by descanting on "Economy" in general (a characteristic attitude of the abstract tradition) without definitely relating it to the vital interaction of People and Place. The following instance is illuminating:—In a recent Parliamentary debate an M.P., fired by genuine indignation, hurled at his opponents the reproach that "they pretend to be economists and vote for education, health and houses!"

at his altar and the woman in her house. Advancing thus at the heels of his spouse, the working-man voter would doubtless be followed by his M.P. and his Trade Union officials with such celerity as the canons of putative leadership permit.

But to recur to the economic point, note that the thing that could not be got in his own district, be it coal from an English colliery or coffee from a Brazilian plantation, the plain man would want to "import"; and a commonsense grasp of "the exchange system" might be expected to ensue. Passing from the vague unrealities of statistics, would not "imports" and "exports" take on the familiar aspects of this-here-now? And the technicalities of banking, currency, finance, all being capable of restatement as means for facilitating the movement and exchange of goods and services, would their discussion not attract instead of repelling? Above all what a gain for a just and fair settlement of "prices" and "wages" if these were seen and grasped as details of adjustment subordinate to the great objective involved in campaigning for an all-round rise in the standard of life, in every home, village, town and city! As the novelist fashions his plot, and the architect creates his design, by the building up of detail, so in order to bring about a commonsense reduction of complicated public issues the vital need is a vision of all types and classes working together towards an objective of intimate inspiration. The times call for an illumination that would enable everyone to see the world of regional economy, national economy and even of international economy, as each and all but a magnified Domestic Economy, and this again as a step towards a true Civic Economy. What an assuagement of current controversies would follow! As things are at present, advocacy of "greater production" is nothing but an irritant to some working-men and their intellectual counsellors. Those who press hardest for increase of national production seem to the socialist-educated workman to be the mere spokesmen of interests closely bound up with the leisure-class scheme of things. How natural, therefore, the rejoinder of these Marxian counsellors of the Labour Party to the plea of increased production, "que messieurs les assassins commencent!" which the labourer, thus exhorted to work harder, may be pardoned for translating, "after you, gentlemen of the leisure-class!" But let the men of wealth exhibit some collective gesture of noble intention, and that might well be the first step towards replacement of the present pervasive distrust by co-operative enterprise in aims recognised as common to all classes in the clear light of goodwill.

In such an atmosphere "ca canny" would not long survive, but rather disappear like mist before the rising sun. Doubtless there will ever remain a margin of slackness in all large and varied

groupings. But given the impulse, direction, guidance, assumed, then the pace of industry could not fail to be accelerated. The impulse assumed is that derived from the joyous energizing of team-play, directed by skilled guidance towards the things that make for life more abundant. The British workman inherits a tradition for manipulative dexterity said to be unrivalled amongst western nations. But this mechanical genius of the workers has been too much at the service of those who reversed the historic ideal of public magnificence and private simplicity. Just in the measure that it restored and vitalized the conception of domestic well-being and civic pride as the concern of all individual citizens, high and low, rich and poor, without distinction of sex or blood, would a Sabbatical Year for the Money-Power be valuable. To liberate the communitary spirit, and make evident the sense of solidarity between classes, to exhibit the meaning of unison between man and nature, and to disclose the significance of civic ennoblement; all these are fine phrases. To make them moving realities would be central to the design of the project. And as a bye-product of the mere acceptance of this design as an outline of national policy, we might hope for a period of public appeasement and private economy to permit the tranquil readjustment of money values all round by friendly co-operation and judiciary assemblage of Communitary Interests with those of Labour and Capital.

Let not the idea of a Sabbatical Year for the moneyed classes be prejudiced by fear of ransom on one side, or hope of plunder on the other. If accepted by the rich with cheerful acquiescence and by the poor with generous recognition of sacrifice freely offered, then its recurrence need not be called for more frequently than once in a generation, or at most per half-generation. A certain periodicity in such social liquidations is recognized as integral to a sound polity, certainly in the laws of the ancient Hebrews, if not in those of the early Greeks, and other peoples of exemplary tradition. But it may be doubted if the record of these judicial experiments does not too much emphasise their merely negative aspects. Viewed as the moral element in a sacrificial ritual, the transfer of property from individual to social use has probably a positive value which we moderns have yet to grasp and act upon. To be sure, we must allow that social extravagance, individual greed, civic oblivion, political torpor, economic errancy, are curable by no mere imposition of Sabbatical Years on the rich and the well-to-do, however full the co-operation of religion and science. But that the implied rupture of habit and loosening of custom may under the given conditions be made steps towards re-starting on a new human adventure of impassioned purpose, few surely will deny.

IV.—The Regional Eutopia of Town and Country.

Throughout this paper emphasis has been put on the unison of religious, moral and intellectual influences. But manifestly the whole-hearted allegiance of Capital and Labour and their unstinted aid are no less indispensable. And that implies no fanciful reading of the modern industrial situation. The plan of campaign must be drawn on lines that the well-disposed amongst business men and amongst workmen themselves recognize as viable. Yet also it must fairly satisfy the reasonable crticism of every current school of economic theory. Hence a concluding affirmation that mastery of detail in the handling of the project is of no less importance than clear vision of the goal. In fact such detail is but the material for a mapping of the course to be followed if the objective is to be reached in definite time and place. That objective may by way of summary be defined in terms at once vital and economic as :—

(*a*) Reduction in the individual cost of living, while raising the communitary life-standard.

(*b*) The direction of capital towards better *quality* of production, while maintaining and even increasing *quantity* of output.

(*c*) Application of the higher sciences towards approximately realizing in the here and now, through the making of Regional Eutopias, the religious vision of God's kingdom of heaven on earth.

(*d*) To introduce this eutopian guidance into every class of the community and increasingly to make it prevail in all the Uses of Money, public, industrial, commercial, domestic, personal.

The appeal to Labour needs no stressing. To the capitalist the project will appeal not at all if it catches him in a plutocratic mood; for that is the mood of "men who suffer no change and fear not God." But there is, if not a patriciate of capital, at least a patrician mood of the capitalist; and those who cultivate this mood will presumably welcome further opportunity to

> Rejoice that they are hurled
> From change to change unceasingly
> Their souls' wings never furled!

To suppose that a certain élite of capitalists and labourers could be "converted" in the way indicated and towards the ends defined is only to add one more to the many audacious suppositions already made in the course of this exercise in the art of polity-making. On this final hypothesis, the needed fourfold structure which sociology postulates would be available for that communitary

orchestra which was affirmed at the outset as the pre-requisite of a return to the psychic diapason of the wonder-year 1915. All the four social classes known to sociologists as Chiefs, People, Emotionals, and Intellectuals, being thus appropriately attuned, let us cheerfully predict of the communitary orchestra, its continuing performance as a concert of practising idealists in action. This we will take to mean that at the close of the Sabbatical Year each local Committee of Guidance would become by public acclamation a voluntary Council of Regional Survey; and each Committee of Consolation and Enhancement be similarly transformed by pressure of popular sentiment into a Regional Ministry of Recreation. The two arms of a modest Spiritual Power of Readjustment being thus provided in each community, an initial working capacity would be secured by attaching thereto its temporal wing, this, of course, being furnished by the voluntary collaboration of the élite Company of Masters and Men. All four groups acting together would furnish each local area with its "Town and Gown Association" for promoting the Regional Eutopia. And it may be added that there is no reason in the nature of things why they and their friends, if current political taste ran this way, should not conceive their Regional Association as a specific variant of the fashionable genus, Soviet!

If it be seriously asked what actually is the social orientation of the Soviet System in Bolshevik Russia, the answer, at least in the general terms of a provisional analysis, is fairly plain. Town and Country, Mechanic and Peasant, long held apart there as in more westerly countries, by the triple rampart of modern politics, industry and finance, are coming together in direct contact. The violence of the sparking is due partly to the density of the separating barriers and partly to the intensity of impulses and desires liberated from suddenly released springs of life. There were also elements of tragedy in the inadequacy of the leaders' preparation, expectant, as these were, of a different *denouement*. With few exceptions these leaders were men of abstract political outlook, with programmes of action correspondingly generalized to indefiniteness. In short they resembled conventional politicians and orthodox economists in innocence of the concrete approach to Regional Eutopias through Regional Surveys. Yet, there is in the Russian situation a creative factor of the deepest significance. There, circumstances have forced into intimacy of reunion the three generative elements of human evolution. Nature, Labour and Life are in travail for a re-birth of civilization. Now, in each periodic crisis of creation there issues a type of polity, a variety of culture, a kind of art, all in corrective relation to the particular disease of civilization against which nature thus reacts and man rebels. That

is to say, the Russian people are launched upon an experimental search for the remedy of that divorce of the urban and the rustic life which is the special malady of our Industrial Age. That the leaders in this heroic endeavour should care not how much of the past they shatter in trying to remake this world more in accord with the heart's desire is easy to believe, because an animus against the past tends ever to accompany a doctrinaire vision of the future. Deliberately to correct that defect of guidance by building a vision of the future by selection from the best of the past is amongst the purposes of the Regional Survey.

True, the regional signpost, with three arms pointing, one to the Past, another to Eutopia, and the third to Hell, may appear to men in the crisis of action as to the plain wayfarer, footsore and hungry, either an untimely joke or a mere counsel of perfection. But kindle the cold-seeming direction of science with the emotional warmth of a Sabbatical Year and assuredly there develops a situation of high intensity, charged with the fires of exalted action. The voice of the "People" is the voice of God, when it responds to a gesture of Renunciation on the part of "Chiefs," themselves in tune with a Spiritual Power of effective "Intellectuals" and "Emotionals." Under these circumstances, and perhaps under no other, is conceivable an ordered march towards that Third Alternative which avoids alike the perils of Revolution and of Reaction.

As the sociologist sees it, that is the conjunction from which might issue, in due time and after an adequate measure of redemptive suffering, the reward of a great hope. But here, the sociologist, little skilled in the terminology of vision, must needs call in aid a greater master both of language and insight. Listen then to that Poet of the People already cited at the outset of this paper:—

The old earth keepeth her watch the same,
  Alone in a voiceless void doth stand,
Her orange flowers in her bosom flame,
  Her gold ring in her hand.
The surfs of the gold-crested morns
  Break ever more at her great robe's hem,
And evermore come the bleak moon-horns,
  But she keepeth not watch for them.

The nations shock and the cities reel,
  The empires travail and rive and rend,
And she looks on havoc and smoke and steel,
  And knoweth it is not the end.
The faiths may choke and the powers despair,
  The powers re-arise and the faiths renew,
She is only a maiden, waiting there,
  For the love whose word is true.

Through the cornfield's gleam and the cottage shade,
  They wait unwearied, the young and old,
Mother for child and man for maid,
  For a love that once was told.
The hair grows grey under thatch or slates,
  The eyes grow dim behind lattice panes,
The earth-race wait as the old earth waits,
  And the hope in the heart remains.

God's gold ring on her hand is bound,
  She fires with blossom the grey hill-sides,
Her fields are quickened, her forests crowned,
  While the love of her heart abides,
And we from the fears that fret and mar
  Look up in hours and behold awhile
Her face, colossal, 'mid star on star,
  Still looking forth with a smile.

She keepeth her watch through the aeons,
  But the heart of her groweth not old,
For the peal of the bridegroom's paeans,
  And the tale she once was told.

This noble poem,[1] conceived in the religious tradition of Eden, composed in the secular spirit of humanism, may also be claimed as an ode of the coming Eutopia dawning from the higher sciences. Uniting these three great streams of man's inner life it is a symbol and token of renascent arts, richly variant, which the intuition of a new earth and a new heaven has for a generation or more been copiously evoking. To seek out and give an ordered freedom of play to all these creative impulses and energies would be to tap the springhead of Eutopia. To do that might, therefore, be the speediest, though apparently least direct, way of escape from the sea of troubles into which the war and its sequel of difficulties have plunged the world. For what are these difficulties, what was the war itself, what are its consequent revolutionary terrors, but the incidents, the episodes, the tragedies, of a stampede from our modern hell!

1. "The Earth's Vigil," in G. K. Chesterton's *Poems*. (Burns and Oates, London, 1917.)

EVERY MAN HIS OWN SOCIOLOGIST.[1]

THE books of sociology used to speak more of family, tribe, nation, empire, civilization. Nowadays they speak rather of groups, associations and the State. But in either case too many of their observations and records were and are made without definite reference to time and place. In so far as our factual writings lack this necessary precision of date and locality, do they not belong rather to the anecdotes of tabletalk than to the data, the hypotheses, the theories of science? Happily there are traditions of our science, not only free from this blemish, but specifically directed to its correction. One of them is that of Frederic Leplay, after whom the Society's new house is named. For an example and an epitome of this Leplay tradition, the first frieze on the northern wall of the Council room has been designed.[2] It shows a conventional version of what an airman might see in a flight over the Welsh hills and the great central plain of England. He would see men singly and in groups working at various occupations in certain kinds of place. The types of these elemental occupations and their respective places may be thus enumerated: fishing from the small harbours of the west coast, mining in the Welsh hills, wood-cutting in the forests, pursuit or preservation of game on moor and in woodland, shepherding on the pastures of the uplands, sowing, ploughing or reaping in the valley bottoms and on the plains, the cultivation of vegetables and fruits in the outskirts of the towns, and finally at the maritime eastern port our airman would see the concentration of an outward and an inward trade. Next after this synoptic view would come, in our sequence of social studies, the detailed observations and comparisons of Place, and Work and Folk to inform us of the characteristics and varieties of Fishermen, Miners, Foresters, Sportsmen, Shepherds, Peasants, Sailors. Then would follow two simple generalizations, almost platitudes. One is that what occurs or can be grown in a particular place determines what occupation shall there be engaged in. The other is that the qualities required for success in that occupation will tend to become fixed traits of the local inhabitants. Everyone, it may be said, knows all this without

1. Address to the Sociological Society at the formal opening of Leplay House.

2. The decorative frieze is the work of Miss Miette Hardy and Miss Lucille Hardy, except one panel by Mr. P. A. Mairet.

the aid of sociology. Certainly, but men of genius may forget essential parts of it when they philosophize; and so arise schools of thought that are one-sided. Thus the historic school of Montesquieu and Buckle, forgetting rustic labour (an easy omission of well-to-do townsmen), emphasize climate as the main determinant of race and civilization. The school of Karl Marx, forgetting the natural conditions of place (again an easy omission for readers in town libraries), insist on the all-importance of labour. Because it combines the two half-truths in these rival schools of thought, the tradition of Leplay is of first-rate aid in building up a social science at once objective, detached, verifiable. In short, with Leplay, we enter on a sociology in direct continuity with the more established sciences.

There is an anecdote of Leplay which well resumes the gist of his teaching. Asking his students once what was the chief thing that comes out of the mine, he was answered by some "coal," and by others "metals." "No," said Leplay, "the chief thing that comes out of the mine is the miner." This anecdote conveys more than a hint of the famous formula, *Place—work—folk*. And again this triply compounded word, if you will consent to go all the way with it, may transport you as on a magic carpet to the heart of evolutionary science. There, central to this frontier field of knowledge, will be found the thought, that Man can attain to lasting harmony in one way and one way only. It is by playing upon each and all of the three notes that compose the chord of Animate Nature. To make the music of one's life a continuing rhythm of Environment, Function, Organism (of Place, Work, Folk). That is the categorical imperative of evolutionary science.

As already said, it belongs to the tradition of Leplay that in making an observation, the student must ever remember to orient himself. Hence the position of this rustic frieze on the north wall of our Council room. If, facing this wall one had eyes to penetrate that and every other intervening obstacle, one might see the line of Welsh hills and valleys, the English plain and eastern coast which this rustic frieze generalizes and presents. Generalized a stage further its features and outline might stand for a conventional section drawn from hill-top to river mouth down any representative valley. Equipped with notebook and camera, and carrying in his head this conventionalized valley-section as working unit for observation and comparison, the sociologist begins to be an outdoor student like geologist and naturalist. There results for each worker in this growing tradition, his systematic gathering and presentment of facts, the Rustic Survey.

May not the student of social science be also an outdoor observer and investigator in towns and cities? Assuredly many are already

becoming so. Let us see what modes and apparatus of research are available of special adaptation to the purposes of the Civic Sociologist.

Turn then to the other frieze on our north wall. It represents the near civic view as against the more remote rustic one, if penetrating the wall we scan the immediate horizon. Ascending the flat roof of Leplay House one actually sees the panorama from which are selected the four panels of this frieze. On the few clear days when the fog screen has drifted away and the soot pall lifted, there is spread out to the gaze nearly the full extension of Westminster city, from riverside wharf at Millbank, up through the northern heights along Piccadilly, ranging down the long Brompton slope to its western limit in the high tower which marks the University and the Imperial Institute. In this phantasmagoria of teaming life, what are the significant things? The simple observations of the airman might be trusted in the countryside, but not in the maze of urban complexities. What guide then shall the social observer take for selection of his representative views? Following a dominant tradition of these days, he might first take note of the buildings and groupings which stand for Capital and Labour. Identifying (in the same limited tradition) the interests of Capital and of Labour with the Directing Classes and the Working Classes respectively, our observer would note that the political and administrative varieties of the former were vastly more in evidence than those which direct the course of Industry, Business and Finance. From the governmental groupings which well nigh fill the Whitehall sector of our Westminster panorama, let us select as a representative specimen the scene at the Admiralty Arch (panel I). For a typical scene of Labour, we might show the traffic at a riverside wharf of Millbank in the Pimlico district (Panel II). This, it may be said, is less representative of labour in Westminster than many other scenes, such, for instance, as a lorry delivering goods at a Bond Street shop; or busmen, taxi-drivers, railway porters at work in their respective modes and places; or again the scene inside one of the great gasworks, building yards, or printing shops. True, but the river is the original parent of both Labour and Capital in Westminster, as in London: so let us agree upon choice of the Millbank wharf scene as both geographically and historically representative of Labour in Westminster.

In their innumerable manifestations and disguises, Capital and Labour seem to exhaust the primary social categories, as many observers and thinkers see the world to-day. Yet commanding features in our Westminster panorama are the edifices of religion. Their towers, domes and spires, taken collectively, may even be said to dominate the picture. To be sure, the institutions thus

conspicuous in the architecture of the city are put aside by the prevailing schools of "economic interpretation" as historic survivals, which influence life for most people to-day in secondary ways only. Yet even if one accepts this criticism, there remain for consideration a whole host of what might be called partial substitutes for the historic religions. A sample of these current sources of emotional arousal, which at its best mounts and touches the sacred, is selected by our artist for presentation in panel III of the civic frieze. The scene is laid on a sunny June afternoon in the Embankment Gardens, when a public performance of music gathers the common folk to converse and perambulate in holiday costume amid flower beds, lawns, shrubberies and statuary, with their background of architecture impressive to the multitude, if not always satisfactory to the æsthete. In the foreground of this enlivening milieu is a typical trio whose interlinked feelings, thoughts, instincts, hopes, fears, supply in no small measure the raw material of religion. This young married couple, for the moment have their attention engaged by the infant occupant of the perambulator. There may, however, be seen in the seat just vacated by the solicitous father, a copy of Mr. Wells' "Outline of History." That is a detail not without significance as token of a man's spiritual interests. But it is the general situation of the family trio which calls for interpretative thought. They have chosen this way of spending their half-holiday because it promised an inner satisfaction, an energizing and enhancement of the inner life. Must it not be said that, given their upbringing, outlook, and opportunities, they are making the most of the public resources available to them towards the cultivation of that subjective life that makes for harmony of the soul?

Now about this inner state of personality in the life of the common folk two things would be generally admitted. One is that "harmony of the soul" is neither a "business proposition," in the world of "Capital," nor a plank in the programme of "Labour." The other is that the efficiency of the historic churches in this cure of souls is somewhat less than it might be. Assume that the high charge of the secular clergy is to energize the heart and tranquilize the mind of the common folk. Yet is it not a simple fact of everyday observation that this "emotionalizing" of the people at large in their daily round, in so far as it is done at all, is performed less by the churches than by a miscellaneous and unrelated set of lay organizations? Music hall, theatre, concert room, picture gallery, museum, cinema palace, lecture hall, public garden, each does something in its own manner towards beating a common track to life abundant through the jungle of current art, literature and science. But how to unite all these dispersive efforts

into one harmonious ritual of life? To do that creative service in each generation, and for the common folk more especially, belongs to the *rôle* of those whom the sociologist calls the "Emotionals" of the Spiritual Power. And the suggestion of the garden scene in our civic frieze is that the gardeners, musicians, sculptors, architects (not forgetting either the civic guardians or their representatives at the tea-serving and the refreshment stalls, and remembering also the author of "The Outline of History") collectively responsible for the holiday entertainment did effectively constitute, for the occasion, a group of ministrants serving the common folk as practising Emotionals of the Spiritual Power of the day. To be sure something vastly greater is needed to bring into unison and orchestrate for public service the symbols of living art, the imagery of contemporary literature, the truths of verified science. Do the historic churches not owe their prestige to the fact that once they did attain to a vision which served the people of the day for unison of life and labour? And clear amongst the conditions of such fulfilment stands out its indispensable intellectual element. Effectively incorporated into the Church in its militant days was the learning and the science of the time. Looking round our Westminster panorama for tokens of the functional "Intellectuals" of the Spiritual Power, we have again to note that merely fragmentary instances would seem to be discoverable. Conspicuous amongst the symbols of these is the University Tower, and this with its incipient cloister has been chosen for the fourth panel of our civic frieze. A student sitting in solitary meditation and a couple in active discussion may serve as reminders that such are the traditional modes of the intellectual process.

It will, of course, be understood that the university in this panel is selected for promise of purpose in the future, rather than fact of performance in the present. The university stands but as a symbol and representative of a whole host of groups and institutions scattered throughout Westminster and awaiting the coming synthesis of knowledge to unite them into a living cloister of effective service to the community. To mention but a few of these fragmentary items of the disrupted speculative life: there are the Learned Societies of Burlington House and elsewhere; the Libraries ranging from the great power house in St. James' Square to the barrow of second-hand books in the street markets of Pimlico; there are Research bodies from the Royal Institution in Albemarle Street, to the Labour Party's Bureau in Eccleston Square; there are discussion groups ranging from the august solemnity of the British Academy to the lively informalities of the People's Forum at Hyde Park Corner on a Sunday forenoon. All these and more are the dispersed Intellectuals of an incipient Spiritual Power.

The commonsense view, which is also the sociological reading of history, is that if these isolated Intellectuals could be brought into a common cloister they would more effectively serve in the birth-aiding of the needed Spiritual Power.

But this aspiration towards social unison must be put aside for the moment lest its practical urgency be permitted to bias the studious interest. The detachment of mood necessary for accurate observation and valid generalization has to be won by persistence in the habit of dissociating the practical from the speculative life. To be sure such divorce of knowledge from life carries its own serpent-like perils, to be met and countered by very deliberate application, later on, of the truths thus won, towards a finer art of living.

Whoever has seriously tried to discern truly and observe accurately the essential facts of (say) politics, religion, business, soon discovers for himself the two chief obstacles to the progress of social science. One is the distortion of prejudice insidiously distilled into the mind by the bias of personal interests and those of class, nation, race. The other is the need of a really detached (*i.e.*, scientific) scheme of analysis for guidance in the selection of essential facts and their orderly arrangement. Without such aid the discriminating powers of even the most careful observer are likely to be helpless in face of the "big booming buzzing confusion" around and within us.

Now there is more than traditional reason for making use of the fourfold social analysis illustrated in our civic frieze. Within its framework of observation has been fitted a very considerable body of research into the history of civilization. But more attractive to the student of contemporary life, and especially to the out-door student, is the facility it offers for orderly factual observation of the institutional and group activities, inhibitions, repressions, perversions, idealisms, enthusiasms, devilries, whose interplay make the day-to-day drama of city, state, nation, empire. To note and record the personalities of such groups and their doings as expressions of contending Temporal and Spiritual Powers, each with its own order of Chiefs, People, Emotionals and Intellectuals—to practice this kind of observation is at once to cultivate the mood of pure science and to advance the sociological movement. So may our Civic Surveys continue and supplement our Rustic Surveys; the former developing and correcting the apparent simplicities of the latter. It is to be assumed that only in the measure of our civic and rustic surveys getting generalized and integrated into an authentic sociology, can we hope to diagnose truly the ills that beset modern civilization and thus work towards their cure.

There are many prescriptions for this healing of the distracted

modern mind. Some excellent people believe that the curative secret lies concealed in the discarded jack boot of Prussia. Others of no less admirable intention put their faith in the wooden sabots of the workman. But do not both these remedies, in so far as their authors claim for them moral and intellectual authority, equally belong to a tradition that exalts its Cæsar as Divus? To be sure we live in a world of uncertainties, but this at least may be accepted, that Temporal Powers cannot do the work of Spiritual ones, nor, *vice versâ*. And let us not forget that any Spiritual Power must seemingly have its correlated groups of specialized outlook and inlook, inadequate, even misleading though it be to call them with the sociologist "Emotionals" and "Intellectuals." These needs and distinctions, deep in the nature of things, compel to the declaration that there is one way, and only one, to intellectual unity, and that is by the narrow and thorny path of verifiable synthesis. The way to emotional unison and so onwards towards practical concord in industry and politics is less clear. But wherever lies the course of social harmony, it is the dictum of that tradition which is resumed in our civic frieze that the four integral social groups must tread it together, if a satisfactory destination is to be reached. As the tradition of rustic sociology is historically associated with the name of Leplay, so with this civic tradition there goes the initiating name of Auguste Comte.

Beyond these two historically central ones, there are many other traditions, as yet imperfectly combined into the body of general sociology. For instance, can it be seriously maintained that the concept of Evolution has been adequately incorporated into sociological thought and observation? If not, that surely is a fatal omission. Towards correcting it, let us first recall the name of Spencer, somewhat discredited though it be, and next let us associate with Spencer's work that of Francis Galton, who is a main link binding the social sciences with the biology of Darwin.

Now it is necessary to enquire coolly and critically what from the human standpoint is the gist of the evolutionary doctrine. Its place and meaning in sociology have had many different interpreters. There is doubtless some truth in each of their interpretations. Assemble at a round table a group of representative individuals chosen from the seers of evolution, listen to their respective versions of man's past, present and future; and mark their plans (if any) for advancing his possibilities of evolution, arresting his habits of deterioration and hindering his degeneration. The Darwinian has right of first speech. Says he, "I observe that the human is but one of innumerable species inhabiting our planet, and I see all of them arising in an infinite welter of changes manifested by the one Proteus of Life, with its tendency under all

disguises to reproduce and multiply beyond the possibilities of complete survival. I observe the human species struggling for food and shelter against other species and against a harsh environment; I see strife of individuals and groups within the species, competing for every object of desire, material and immaterial, honourable and base; and I note, according to circumstances, the victory of the strong, the cunning, the wise, the gentle, the meek, the beautiful, the sociable, the unsociable, with resulting transmission of like characters, whether by organic descent or by social inheritance. I observe the rivalry of males competing for mates, with the results entailed by this lesser strife within the greater. The inference of my massed and ordered observations is that adaptation to environment through struggle is the inmost characteristic of the changeful Proteus. As for its manifestation in Man, and the resulting drama of human development, I see no reason for making plans; I am too engrossed in the absorbing spectacle of Nature's drama, which for me holds, envelops and absorbs Man and all his works."

Next let the Spencerian speak. Says he, "I take over and adopt in full all the observations of the Darwinian. But for myself I have little taste for the labour of observational research. I prefer to sit in my study and meditate. And when I reflect on the forces of change, I perceive also the forces of stability and a tendency to their balance. In regard to the human species this tendency to a balance of adjustment between organism and environment, between Population and Subsistence, shows itself in a marked way. It is a supreme characteristic of human evolution that there proceeds together a growth of personality and a diminution of reproductive power. This tendency holds prospect of a future for man as splendid in its perfection as his origin was lowly and his past is humble. But it is a condition of reaching this perfected human state of the future that the grand law of Individuation varying inversely with Reproduction be left to work itself out in its own way. In particular I declare no plans should be made by politicians for hastening the ultimate denouement, since all their plans hitherto, I discover, to have had the reverse effect."

Next arises the Galtonian. Says he, "what strikes me most about the human species is the poor appearance of so many individuals in physique. This to an evolutionist is contrary to all nature. For when you look at other species (the world of parasites excepted) you see that the average, normal and ordinary specimen is not only a physically fit individual but is also a beautiful creature. Indeed, the very meaning of evolution is that the whole species marches together; and so an evolutionist is bound to assume a potency in each individual to be and to do what

the species is and does. Hence when an evolutionist observes a few beautiful noble, healthy members in the human species, and many lacking these qualities, he is bound to assume that the former are the normal individuals and exhibit the natural characteristics of the species; and that the latter, for some peculiar and exceptional reason have failed to develop the finer latencies which are in them, or have somehow perverted them. Indeed, the frequency of poorly developed or deteriorate specimens raises the question whether even the fine specimens are really representative of the highest potentiality of the human species. Evolutionists ought therefore to find out by research and experiment what are the highest latencies of evolution in man, and why all the members do not develop at least up to the level of the best extant specimens. When research and experiment have gone further into the determination of these problems, we can make our plans for the future."

Finally we must listen to the Comtist exponent of evolution, for the Positivist reading of human development is in everything but name a doctrine of evolution. Says he, " It is true that the human species is like all others in its organic life. But it is radically and profoundly marked off from all others in one respect. It has discovered a unique way of accumulating the experience of past generations and transmitting it for the benefit of the present and the future. This Social Heritage of impressions, experiences, feelings, ideals, thoughts, imagery is the supreme product of the evolutionary process. It is the most complex thing in the world known to man. And because the most complex, it is also by a happy law of nature, the most open to human control. What we call history, as distinct from organic development, is the record of many minor efforts and of two great experiments in the control of the social heritage. The first of these magistral efforts towards mastery and guidance of human destiny was a joint control by soldiers and theologians; who still enjoy a large share in management and direction of the social heritage. Mingling with this first thought-out and ordered experiment came the next; which is the dominant authority to-day. It is a joint management and direction by politicians, lawyers and abstract thinkers. From the successes and the failures of these two systematic endeavours in the use and transmission of the social heritage, we have to devise a third system which will continue and develop the qualities and abate or eliminate the defects of the previous orders. As to detailed plans to this end, we should very distinctly separate those concerned with the material fabric of life from those of immaterial interests. The former plans should be exclusively in the hands of statesmen and the magnates of industry, themselves educated first by women, and afterwards by men of the moral, intellectual and æsthetic tradition,

in whose sole charge should be the plans for religion, education, science and the fine arts. To work towards the discovery and practice of an effective and correlative Temporal and Spiritual Power for our times is the supreme human problem and task."

To the voices of our evolutionary quartet we might add other interpretations of man and nature, other visions of life. But turn back rather to the great masters already mentioned and endeavour to see them in their simple human relations. Test them and their doctrines together by the measure of the child's mind in its phases of growth and moods of expanding personality. Does it not belong to the nature of genius that the Great Man be used as a mirror wherein "you" and "me" may see and read ourselves as we might be if nature and nurture were a trifle more generous in bestowing the conditions of perfection. Some pictures to illustrate these aspects of human evolution are placed on the overmantel of the Council Room. Adjacent to the rustic frieze is placed Miss Larcher's vivid presentation of a child gazing from a hilltop in wondering outlook upon the river that winds in the valley below. Here surely is a perfect symbol of the scientific mind in its mood of observation and wonder. Indeed must one not rather say that this child on the hilltop is less a symbol than the realized intention of the scientist in the first of his many moods? His indispensable prerequisite is to see things as they are, naturally, simply, directly, without bias from the disturbances and prepossessions of the adult mind. And next, following the child also, the scientist would acquire and possess that disposition of mind in which the mood of wonder plays freely on the images recorded by the retina. Is it not plain that in this child on the hilltop we have a Darwin in the making? And, *per contra*, are not too many Darwinians but adults whose own evolution is arrested by premature fixation and consequent withering of the child habit of observation and wonder?

On the opposite side of the mantelpiece, and therefore adjacent to the civic frieze, is presented another phase and mood of the child mind. Impressions having been stored and wonder aroused by contact with nature, the ground is prepared for that process of meditation to which the darkened closets of town dwellings are the fitting milieu. The "infant philosopher" of the sculptor is surely a Spencer in the making; and Spencer and his too static philosophy of evolution but express an arrestment by fixation of the indoors habit of reflecting without due alternation of active outdoor life.

To the three notes of Observation, Wonder, Meditation, others must be added, to make the full chord of science, and also of the child mind. One of them is the note of Experiment; and here the mood is no longer merely receptive, or somewhat passively creative, but the whole being is intense with the eagerness of purposive

action. Can there be found for sociological reference a better representation of the experimental mood than the Boy Scout? Who so keen to explore the realm of man's interaction with nature? Who more ready to risk, in actual experiment, the trials of failure or to foresee the triumphs of attainment? In his smart uniform, and with his keen, handsome face and well-set-up body, is not the boy scout himself that very vision of individual life which Galton saw as the norm of our species? Given a thoroughgoing education of the countryside, with its mastery of the tools and the crafts that have made the material fabric of civilization, and so by repercussion in no small measure moulded the human mind, the boy scout is manifestly a rustic sociologist in the making.

What figure can we find of similar significance in the civic tradition? The camp-fire girl, and her primitive tools and utensils may seem not less in the rustic tradition, but even more than the boy scout. Yet it would be admitted that in her knapsack is more likely to be found, amongst the younger girls, a fairy story, and amongst the older ones a volume of poetry. But the fairy book is at once primitive token of the social heritage, and symbol of its romantic use in recalling the past for inspiration of the present. The volume of poetry expresses at its highest, man's perennial endeavour to sift the social heritage, select its choicest products and combine them into arousing visions of life abundant.

Now what fairy stories and poetry are to the camp-fire girl, that the arts, sciences, histories, literatures, religions are to the sociologist who labours in the Comtist tradition. They are the half-shaped stuff of a fuller application of the social heritage to an orderly march through the present into a finer future. So may we not see in a "camp-fire girl" and her equipment a further promise of that vision of social life which the civic sociologist glimpses in his evolutionary illumination?

Let us then set up the boy scout and the camp-fire girl not only as reminder of the experimental mood, but also to recall that there are many traditions of this order awaiting to be incorporated in the body of sociological thought.

Think, for instance, of Robert Owen. He was resolute consciously to apply in definite and orderly experiment what he took to be the extant social knowledge of his day. And who shall say that, whatever his omissions, blunders and failures, we are not immensely the richer for his efforts at practical regeneration? It is hardly an exaggeration to claim that the movements of Co-operation, Factory Legislation, Trade Unionism, Garden-city-making, and Socialism are offspring of his endeavours. To mention some other representative names of like experimental tradition, there are Turgot, with his political reconstructions in Limoges, Condoreet

and his educational endeavours in the French Revolution, and Goethe with his ordered civic efforts at Weimar.

The labours of all these and many other pioneers of an applied social science await criticism, appraisal and incorporation in the tradition of experimental sociology, along with older endeavours and later ones, like current experiments in social transmission by craft schools, such as that of Professor Findlay. For symbol and reminder of this rich field calling for a fuller survey and cultivation we need a central picture to go between those of the boy scout and the camp-fire girl. Amidst many that suggest themselves the old Temple of Vesta in early Rome has been chosen, because it is manifestly a central link in the long series of human efforts towards a civilization that ascends from Round Hut to Cathedral and University as respectively heart and brain of the culture city. Thus may be seen meeting and blending in that old Roman temple something of the two supreme achievements of the human race. And to renew Hellenic unity of knowledge and art, Hebraic unity of the moral and the physical order, and both on the rising spiral of modern knowledge and resource—is not that our supreme need to-day? It is surely this very aim to which the housewife aspires in the making of her Home. Thus is not every Home to-day, when taken in civic intention, a miniature Temple of Vesta in the making? The problem of civilization, of the city, and of the home, when historically and concretely stated, is thus seen as one and the same. So does our central symbol become charged with a meaning that ranges all the way between the personal and the social, the arcane and the historic, the primitive and the modern.

At the risk of crowding our mantelpiece its pictures are flanked at each end by a pair of globes. One of them shows the natural features of the planet, its oceans and seas with their varying depths roughly indicated, its land forms and their contours similarly marked. This globe stands on the left and represents the unity of that natural world which the valley section of the rustic frieze analyses into portions, suitable for detailed study by the specialisms called anthropology and economics, yet also in form adapted to the more general study we term sociology. Each of the many multiplying specialisms necessitated by the complexity of the social world and its physical environment, needs for incorporation in general sociology a functional symbolism of linkage devised for this double purpose. Increasingly does the geographer serve as an intermediary through whom the more naturalistic specialisms make their contribution to general sociology and receive from it in turn. On the geographer the oneness of the globe impresses that sense of unity which is apt to be lacking in the more specialized studies. On the other side, that of the humanist tradition, the rôle

of synthetic intermediary is increasingly played by the historian. The more such "sub-sciences" as social psychology, ethics and æsthetics are presented in historic development, the more they become ready for incorporation in general sociology, if only because we thus see that behaviour, conduct, taste, are phenomena that exhibit less of an unvarying absolute, and more of varying adjustment to the tone and pitch of their era. The treatment of political philosophy by the historic method has perhaps gone furthest amongst the humanist group of sub-sciences. And if the practical results seem lamentable, to judge from the state of Europe to-day, that is open to various interpretations. One is that notwithstanding their historical treatment there has been as yet no adequate incorporation of political studies into any general science of society worth the name. The failure reflects alike on political science and on sociology, and still more perhaps on the historian in his part as intermediary.

For reminder and symbol of the double tradition of specialized variety and synthetic unity in the realm of humanist learning, a political globe stands adjacent to our civic frieze, and thus supplements the naturalist globe adjacent to the rustic frieze. What the geographer's valley section is to the natural globe, so it is claimed the social analysis of the civic frieze is, or may become, to the political globe. At any rate, it is a provisional contribution to that purpose largely from the side of history, but owing something also to the plain-man's kind of history called folklore, and to the poet's kind of history called myth.

Following the phrasing of Comte, we called the four integral groupings of the social situation Chiefs, People, Emotionals and Intellectuals. That analysis was the last word of the old-fashioned study called "philosophy of history" which before expiring gave birth to sociology. But the same four social types under other names appear in the poetic vision of Plato and in the objective research of Aristotle.[1] In a conventional presentation possibly still

1. With the four types given in sociological analysis may be compared the Guardians, Artisans, Poets, Philosophers of Plato's *Republic*, and the Citizens, Labourers, Teachers, Philosophers of Artistotle's *Politics*. Mr. H. G. Wells, it may be remembered, in his *Modern Utopia*, makes two main types, viz., Kinetics and Poietics. And each of these again is sub-divided into Actives and Passives. Thus his Actives and Passives of the Kinetic types may be compared with the Chiefs and Peoples of the Temporal Power; and his Actives and Passives of the Poietic types, with the Emotionals and Intellectuals of the Spiritual Power. Mr. Arnold Bennett, in a descriptive essay of war-time sociology, observed that in the Clyde shipyards men sorted themselves into four types which he called Organisers, Workers, Energisers, Initiators, an independent factual verification of the sociological analysis of what mig't be called the *Functional Group*.

more ancient they would seem to appear as the four suits of our playing cards. Manifestly the "club" is a representative of the "People," and the "spade" is but a misreading of the Spanish *espada*, a sword, the weapon of the "Chief"; while "diamonds" and "hearts" are obvious symbols of the "Intellectuals" and "Emotionals" respectively. To find in the folklore of games the rudiments of science may be taken as verification of the contained truth and doubtless also a rating of the method called scientific! May we not therefore fittingly conclude our game of sociological analysis by noting that each of our two globes is borne on a pedestal faced with a couple of playing cards? They are of somewhat unconventional design, but there will be recognized below the natural globe the aces of clubs and spades, and below the political globe, hearts and diamonds. The suggestion is first, the obvious one that the People and the Chiefs of the Temporal Power, are the Atlas that supports the material fabric of our world; and that the Emotionals and Intellectuals of the Spiritual Power do a somewhat similar service of maintenance for the immaterial world of our inner life. Next, turning the two globes and their pedestals through half a circle one recognizes an exhibit of what previously was invisible in the background, viz., the complementary pair of social types. The unity of the social whole is thus at once reaffirmed and declaration is made of the mutuality of the temporal and the spiritual, the interdependence of the material and the immaterial, the interaction of the inner and the outer life.

Our rustic and civic frieze taken with the pictures and apparatus of the overmantel are collectively intended to indicate and in a sense outline, current resources in the way of impulse, method and purpose, available for sociological study. Next comes the question of the practical use of these resources in tackling the actual and concrete problems of the science. The other decorations of the Council Room are meant to illustrate their application towards an open-air study first of Westminster, Oxford and Chelsea, as types of culture-city in our contiguous region, and next of the Thames Valley as itself a typical region for the concrete approach to sociology. In other rooms of Leplay House an endeavour is being made to apply the same modes of study to illustrative examples further afield. Not a few beginnings of actual surveys, rustic and civic, have been brought together. These need continuing, multiplying, comparing, compounding, generalizing. The more the students of social science can be got to work along these concrete approaches, the nearer we move to a living sociology. That is the way of science. It contrasts with the dubious abstractions of all the "isms" which go to the making of current politics. Below those vague abstractions, alike economic and political, lie the

realities of Town and Country and the latencies of Personality and Community. To make intelligible and explicit, these vital elements and spiritual potencies of every complex situation is the practical aim of rustic and civic surveys.

With such resources growing quantitatively and systematically, together with an increasing assemblage of books and papers, maps, charts and other documents requisite to the more conventional approaches to the science, it is hoped that Leplay House will, in course of time, develop an organization that may justify the claim and aspiration "Every man his own Sociologist."

NOTE ON THE DOUBLE PERSONALITY OF HERBERT SPENCER.

A word as to presumption of conflict between the appreciation of Herbert Spencer in the above paper, and the account of his doctrine given in "The Drift to Revolution." It has to be remembered that there was more than one Spencer. There was the Railway Engineer, the sub-editor of the *Economist,* the student of physical science and of *Laissez-faire* politics, the hard and determined egotist. There was also the vitalist (even one touched with human mysticism), the lover of music, the appreciator of children, the admirer of Mary Ann Evans, the student of organic, mental and social science, of Von Baer, Lamarck and Comte. By generalizing the experience and thought of Spencer No. 1, and vastly overweighing it, he got his cosmic philosophy of a mechanistic evolutionism. By generalizing the other experience and thought, he gained his vision of organic evolution as a rhythm of self-regarding and other-regarding instincts and tendencies. And in the overtones of this rhythm he discerned the dawning of transcendent harmonies. Above all did he perceive in man, culminating product of the evolutionary process, latencies of personality capable of blending the inner strife of instincts into a balanced perfection of life. But how reconcile this vital and even spiritual view of evolution with the mechanistic and competitive one? How indeed except by pausing, patiently and persistently to seek further illumination? Yet it is a common trick of the mind to suppress and forget the elements of one mood that do not square with those of another. This is a very human habit of mind; but its practice becomes, as it were, systematized in periods of transition. The plain-man of our modern transition has acquired the habit of suppressing and forgetting easily and often (with or without the aid of a little stimulant); and he pays for his facility by a growing disharmony of soul. More cultivated persons fix and stereotype the moods of partial insight by recourse to elaborate artifice. Some make an imposing "rationalization," and call it now Philosophy, now Science. Others compose verbal melodies in the music of fancy and call it Literature; believing, as Renan remarked, that language in its way is a religion. Herbert Spencer "rationalized" his mood of mechanistic utilitarianism and was able to persuade himself and his generation that it was both Philosophy and Science, because in that

mood he so fully represented and expressed the dominant spirit of his time. Is it not apparent too that in another respect he is also a representative figure of the utilitarian and industrial age? Does he not illustrate its characteristic tendency towards dissociation of personality by cleavage of the mind into an outer court of circumstance and an inner chamber wherein the soul immures itself to pursue one or more of several courses. It may build a tinsel castle in fairyland. But that will not save it in the long run from a harsh fate. Cut off from its proper work of moral nourishment and spiritual direction to the outer life, the soul will sooner or later languish of inanition, or wilt under the distress of repression, or in reaction flame into the evils of perversion. It is the task and the privilege of psychologist and sociologist jointly to aid the traditional guardians of the soul in thinking out and designing interactions of Folk, Work and Place, of Polity, Culture, Art, that will prevent these evils, by evoking and developing the contrary qualities of life.

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